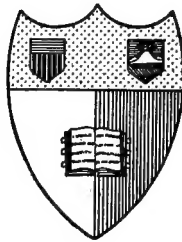




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Manual of Greek historical inscriptions.



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**GREEK**  
**HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS**

*HICKS*

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.  
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD  
LONDON, EDINBURGH  
NEW YORK

A MANUAL  
OF  
GREEK  
HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS

BY

E. L. HICKS, M.A.

CANON OF MANCHESTER  
HON. FELLOW AND SOMETIME FELLOW AND TUTOR OF  
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND

G. F. HILL, M.A.

OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

*NEW AND REVISED EDITION*

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1901

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BY HORACE HART, M.A.  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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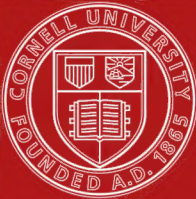
CAROLO · THOMAE · NEWTON ·

MAGISTRO · DISCIPVLVS ·

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Ἄλλ' ἴθι νῦν παρὰ χειρός ἐμῆς βραχὺ βιβλίον ἤδη,  
Ἑλλάδος ἀρχαίας μνημοσύνοισι πρόπον·  
ἀντ' εὐεργεσιῶν δὲ τάχ' ἂν χάρις εὐχαρις ἔλθοις  
ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ, πολλῆς τ' ἀντὶ διδασκαλίας.



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## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

P. 17, no. 15 bibliography. *Add*: F. Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.* 1200.

P. 31, no. 25 bibliography. *Add*: R. Meister, *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch.* 51 (1899), p. 156.

P. 42, ll. 4 and 3 from bottom. *For* 'existing . . . know where,' *read* 'at Colne Park, White Colne, Essex.'

P. 58, l. 9 of commentary. *After* 'the East,' *insert* 'except Kelenderis.'

P. 96, no. 56 bibliography. *Add*: E. Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris* I. no. 44, pp. 41, 47 foll.

P. 120, ll. 1, 2, 3. Dr. Wilhelm states that  $\Delta$  and not  $\triangle$  stands clearly on the stone; the sum is therefore 10 drachms in each case.

P. 160 f. no. 80. A. Körte (*Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Athen. Abth.*, xxv. (1900), pp. 392 foll.) regards this as not the psephisma mentioned by Aischines, but a similar one dealing with the *μέτροικοι* and restores the archon's name as [Ἡεραίνετ]ος.

P. 162, ll. 1-5, *for* 'the latter restoration . . . in the next line,' *read* 'Neither restoration is satisfactory; the former because of the apparently absolute use of ἐψηφίσθαι and the construction 'Ἀθηναίους εἶναι αὐτοῖς, the latter because a second εἶναι appears to be lacking.'

# PREFACE

## TO THE SECOND EDITION

It is a gratification to know that this *Manual*, first published in 1882, did not fail in its aim of being a contribution, however humble, to that enlightened study of archaeology which has so vastly enriched our acquaintance with the history and literature of Greece and Rome. But the request of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, that I should prepare a revised edition, was not without its embarrassments.

In the first place, the accession of new material, owing to discoveries at Athens, Delos, Delphi, and elsewhere, has been so large, that the volume must have grown beyond due limits had one attempted to cover the whole period embraced in the first edition. It seemed best to omit Parts vi-ix altogether, and close the collection with the death of Alexander. This sacrifice to the demands of space, although justified by an indifference to post-Alexandrine studies too common amongst British scholars, has been a painful one: for it was with Alexander that Greece entered upon her work of hellenizing the world, and Greek history might more truly be said to begin than to end at his death.

In the next place, my own hands had become so full of fresh duties, that I could not venture on the task of revision alone. I was fortunate in finding a collaborateur in Mr. G. F. Hill, whose work at the British Museum had proved him a competent archaeologist, and whose *Sources of Greek History*, B. C. 478-431, won him the thanks of all Greek historical students.

We have omitted a few inscriptions which were included in the first edition, to make room for others either more important or better preserved, viz. Nos. 13, 34, 43, 60, 107, 115, 122, 130 (the date of the last is now usually put later). We have also added a list of Athenian Archons from B. C. 500-321, with the authorities for their names. Some changes in the transliteration of inscriptions are explained in the Notanda.

In the selection of new material we have derived considerable help from the new edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge*, and from Michel's *Recueil*, two books of the finest scholarship and indispensable to all students of ancient Greece.

We cannot sufficiently express our thanks to Dr. Adolf Wilhelm, who most generously undertook to read the proofs, and by whose advice we have benefited throughout Parts i-iv. The result is partly seen in the improved readings, which are acknowledged as they occur; but in addition he has furnished a great number of references to the literature of the subject, which might otherwise have escaped our notice.

We have further been kindly allowed to see the proof-sheets of the earlier part of vol. ii of Mr. Roberts's *Greek Epigraphy*, which is shortly to be issued by him in collaboration with Prof. E. A. Gardner; so that we have been able to give references to a certain number of the documents included in that volume. Our thanks are also due to Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, for kindly examining some of the stones at Athens.

Other obligations, it is hoped, are acknowledged in the text; nor should we omit to thank the Clarendon Press reader for an accuracy which has saved us much labour.

E. L. HICKS.

June, 1901.

# INTRODUCTION

## TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE history of the Hellenic people, from the days of their struggle with Persia, down to their submission to the Western Conquerors, is a story which can never tire, if only for its wealth of striking and pathetic incidents. But it is the intellectual greatness of the Greeks, and their important influence upon the world, which invests with a peculiar interest everything connected with them. In poetry, in philosophy, in art, they have shaped the thoughts of all succeeding time. And the history of the Greeks, thus unique in its interest, lies open to us in a literature equally original. So rich is their historical literature, that the very brilliance of Herodotos, Thukydidēs, and Xenophon almost blinds us to the sterling common sense of a Polybios, or the painstaking labours of a Diodoros. Nor do we always remember how much valuable history we owe to the accurate notes of travellers like Strabo and Pausanias. Even the very gossip of Greek political circles survives for us in the jests of Aristophanes, or the anecdotes of Plutarch and Athenaeos.

The literary documents bearing upon Greek history form a very wide field, upon which the labours of many generations of scholars have been spent, with the result of recalling for the modern reader the very colour and movement of ancient Greek life in the pages of Thirlwall, Grote, Curtius, and other great writers. But while the literary data have thus been subjected to the most careful sifting, and have been assuming a more complete and final form, another and supplementary class of documents has been acquiring new prominence. The liberation of Greece, and the increasing facilities

for travel in the Levant, began early in this century to bring to light a larger number of archaeological monuments connected with classical Greece than had ever been known before ; and it suited the scientific temper of the time to turn to these with an instinctive energy for their careful investigation.

To a certain degree any and every object recovered from the ruins of antiquity will help in the illustration of ancient life. But the study of archaeology rises almost to an equality with the study of ancient literature, when we find in a work of art the interpretation of the spirit of a period, or when the excavation of an ancient site unlocks the secret of its history. It is true that the very richness of Greek literary records has deprived the evidence of Greek archaeology of some of its importance. Nevertheless the evidence of Greek coinage has never failed to engage the attention of historians ; and any scholar may see at a glance how intimately Greek politics are illustrated by Greek coinage, by turning over the numismatic manuals lately issued by the British Museum <sup>1</sup>.

With good reason I have reminded the reader of the historical importance of Greek coinage ; for in approaching the study of inscriptions, it will be instructive to compare our work with the work of the numismatist. Now the coin and the inscription have this in common, that both of them are works of art, and both of them also bear a written record. But although the coin usually contains a stamped legend, yet it obviously belongs more to archaeology than to literature. When however we turn to inscriptions, the literary interest is the primary consideration, the archaeological interest stands second. The inscription combines, it is true, some of the interest of a piece of sculpture, together with that of a manuscript. The archaeologist is concerned to note the metal, or the kind of marble employed ; the ornamentation, if any, as an index of the age and the style of art-cultivation ; the size, shape, and

<sup>1</sup> I refer to Mr. Head's *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, 1881, of which four parts have been issued ; *Coinage of Syracuse*, 1874, and *Coinage of Ephesus*, 1880, by the same ; *Coinage of Elis*, 1879, by Professor Gardner.



manner of the lettering, as invaluable marks of the date and locality. But as a literary document the inscription has all the interest of an archetype manuscript: it is an authentic record of the time to which it refers. Whatever amount of information the inscription may convey, be it little or much, its evidence will at least be welcomed with eager curiosity. It is impossible to linger, for example, over those awkward-looking numeral letters in the financial inscriptions of the Periklean time, without a peculiar sense of satisfaction. We are here face to face with state documents which Perikles may have issued, and Thukydides may have read.

Such reflections, however, it may be said, belong merely to the sentiment of the dilettante. What is the real value of Greek inscriptions to the serious student of Greek history? And here I might perhaps regret that my Manual appears at a moment when the greatest of Greek historians has been lately strengthened in his just hold upon English scholars by a translation which will become classical. For Professor Jowett is so engrossed by the genius of his author and by the paramount value of Greek literary records, that he can find little to glean from the duller study of inscriptions. Some may find a pleasure (he says) 'on Greek soil, under the light of the blue heaven, amid the scenes of ancient glory, in reading inscriptions, or putting together fragments of stone or marble.' But 'they add to our knowledge' only 'a few facts.' We must return to the study of the literature of Hellas, 'finding some little pleasure by the way (like that of looking at an autograph) in deciphering the handwriting of her children amid the dust of her ruins<sup>1</sup>.' We may trace in this estimate a lingering echo of that controversy which long continued between the last and greatest representative of the old school of purely literary scholarship, and Augustus Böckh, the founder of the newer school. It seemed impossible for Godfrey Hermann to understand those new methods of study, wherein (so far from Greek literature being dethroned) archaeology

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Jowett, *Thucydides translated*, vol. ii. p. lxxviii.

and literature combine to call to life again the features of classical civilization. But since the time of Böckh, whose patient learning was only equalled by his brilliant generalizations, it has become not so much a maxim as an instinct with scholars to regard archaeology as the handmaid of literature, and to study the life of ancient Hellas as a whole, illustrating it by every light that can be thrown upon it, whether from the genius of her authors, or the witness of her inscriptions, or the progress and decay of her art, or the physical features of the country, or the excavation of ancient sites.

The most devoted students of inscriptions will be the first to urge that too much must not be expected from them. If we leave out of sight the more private inscriptions, and confine ourselves to those which illustrate history, and have a place in this collection, we find that they nearly all consist of decrees of public assemblies, laws, treaties, letters of kings and others, votive offerings, or statements of public accounts, and these all share the usual reserve and formality of official documents. The information they yield is indirect. It is like examining mediæval charters, or financial state-papers, or the letters and other documents of the Record Office, for the illustration of English history. You must know how to interrogate the documents rightly, in order to get at the information they contain.

We shall express precisely the strength and the weakness of inscriptions as bearing upon history, when we say that they give us almost always just the information we least expected. They supplement, even more than they confirm or illustrate, the writings of ancient historians. For the inscriptions at present discovered are but a few fragments from the wreck of the ancient world. They were originally deposited chiefly in temples or other public buildings, where they might be at once safe and accessible, and these buildings have been long ago destroyed by earthquake or invasion, and their ruins have often for centuries served as convenient quarries for the

successive inhabitants of ancient sites. We need not therefore wonder that though some 4000 Attic tombstones have been read, yet we have hardly ever come upon the epitaph of any historical character. Among the numberless public documents found upon the Akropolis, only now and then do we light upon the names of men known to fame, like Nikias, Alkibiades, Demades. Only occasionally do we meet with documents (such as Nos. 39-60), which a reader of Thukydides would have expected to find. Considering the large extent of colonization in Greece, it is singular that No. 29 is the only known decree upon the subject, and this deals with an almost unheard-of settlement. But it is this unexpectedness which constitutes the chief interest of inscriptions; they afford information which we cannot get elsewhere.

A more serious defect arises from the fact that so few localities in Greece have been at all made to yield up the inscribed monuments which lie buried beneath. On some few sites indeed, chiefly the sites of ancient temples, systematic explorations have been made, as at Delphi, Priene, Olympia, Ephesos, Delos, Dodona. To these may be added the excavations of Mr. Newton at Knidos, Halikarnassos, and Branchidae, those of the Athenian government on the Akropolis or the Great Theatre, and the German excavations at Pergamon. Upon these and other sites inscriptions have been diligently searched for and found. But for the rest, we have to trust to the chance discoveries made in the course of modern building on ancient sites. Thus by far the largest yield has been from those localities which are still in modern times the sites of flourishing towns. Here in the continual course of the demolition of old buildings and the erection of new, large numbers of documents have come to light. Let any one glance at a collection like Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, and see how large a proportion comes from places like Athens, Thessalonika, Smyrna, and Rome, and he will understand how partial and accidental is our present acquaintance with the inscribed monuments of ancient Greece. But small as it

is in comparison with the ancient total, it is sufficiently large to occupy the energies of many students, and to afford valuable results.

It is a serious drawback that the marbles which survive to us are often miserably chipped and broken. The result is that their value often becomes apparent only after a wide and careful study of similar documents<sup>1</sup>. To those whose business it is to edit these inscribed texts, no fragment is without value. A tiny bit of marble in an English collection may just complete some broken slab recently discovered in Greece, so that you cannot pronounce *a priori* any fragment to be unimportant. Those who open a volume of inscriptions for the first time think very differently. They are naturally disappointed at the incompleteness of most documents, and they find a stumbling-block in what appear to be the capricious restorations of the editor. Why should such license of conjecture be allowed in an inscription, when no sound critic would deal so with a manuscript? The answer is twofold. In the first place, the language of inscriptions (especially honorary decrees, treaties, and other kinds) is often formal and stereotyped; the same phrases recur, with very slight variation, from one end of Greece to the other. This sameness and formality of phrasing makes the restoration of many

<sup>1</sup> The following anecdote, which I borrow from the Register of the British Museum, will illustrate my meaning. It relates to a fragment of an Athenian Quota-list of the fifth century B. C., presented to the British Museum in 1863. The fragment is stated to have been originally obtained from the Parthenon by an English traveller, who, afterwards being present at a *scavo* at Pompeii, made use of this opportunity to test the acumen of the Director of the excavations by surreptitiously introducing into the soil then under examination this fragment from Athens. This having been done, a lady whom the traveller brought with him as an accomplice pretended to discover the fragment accidentally, while the excavation was going on, and handed it to Cavalier Fiorelli. He immediately detected the trick, and declared that the fragment must be of Athenian origin, and from the Parthenon itself. The gentleman confessed his trick, and the fragment was presented to the British Museum in 1863. I am informed by Dr. Adolf Wilhelm that the piece must have been broken away from fragment 31 of the great stelé containing the first fifteen quota-lists (*C. I. A. I.* 231-240).

inscriptions an easy matter. And secondly, where the general sense of a fragment is tolerably clear, it is allowable to supply by way of suggestion a few words that may help the reader to follow the probable sequence of syntax and meaning. In such cases the editor is bound to point out that no certainty attaches to the verbal restorations suggested: they are only to serve as a convenient commentary.

The growing amount of materials has called into existence a school of students, with Augustus Böckh as their founder, whose task it is to collate, edit, and arrange the ancient texts; and further, to gather from the edited texts the historical and other results of their studies. Böckh's *Political Economy of Athens*, well known in England through its translation by Sir G. C. Lewis, was an early and a signal example of this kind of study. A similar value belongs to Köhler's *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des delisch-attischen Bundes*, Dumont's *L'Éphébie Attique*, Foucart's *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, Lüders' *Die dionysischen Künstler*, and many others, some of which are enumerated at the end of this Introduction. Neither could such manuals as the *Griechische Alterthümer* of K. F. Hermann, or of G. F. Schömann, have been written, but for that study of inscriptions to which Schömann especially was devoted.

It is from works like these that we can best appreciate the benefits conferred upon Greek studies by the discovery of inscriptions. But the reader of such a book as Curtius' *History of Greece* will not unfrequently have been reminded of the epigraphical *pièces justificatives* available for the illustration of Greek history. And Mr. Capes, in his lectures on *University Life in ancient Athens*, has shown that the curious information afforded by inscriptions is sometimes entertaining; although anything more dreary than the original documents upon which Dumont and Dittenberger had based their descriptions, I cannot conceive.

In the present volume it seemed best, with the consent of the Delegates of the Press, to confine myself to documents

directly illustrating history only. Of course a very large number of Greek inscriptions relate to religious ceremonies, agonistic contests, and concerns of private life; or have to do with legal and constitutional antiquities rather than with historical events. If it is thought desirable, another volume embracing these classes of documents could easily be prepared, which would probably exceed the present volume in interest, inasmuch as the subjects it would illustrate are less familiar to the readers of Greek literature.

This volume therefore contains only *Historical* inscriptions. And in presenting these to the reader, I have denied myself the pleasure of enlarging upon the archaeology of the subject. Thus I have been content to print the texts (with three exceptions<sup>1</sup>) in cursive only, without trying to represent the originals in facsimile, or in various alphabets of uncial type. For the original appearance of the marble concerns rather the professed epigraphist than the historical student, to whom the inscription is merely one more historical document. At the same time, no pains have been spared to secure the accuracy of the texts. Whenever the original was out of my reach, the copies only of the most recent and most careful editors have been followed. Sometimes I have had access to unpublished copies or impressions, through the kindness of friends. Nearly all of my texts have been edited before; nevertheless, whenever possible, I have verified the published texts by a reference to the marbles. The result is, that whenever my texts differ from the copies already published, it is because I have to offer a better and completer text. Whenever the size of the page allowed it, the lines of text are printed just as they stand on the marble, so as the better to show at a glance what portions of the stone are mutilated. When the text is printed consecutively, as in ordinary Greek prose, the original division of the lines is marked by vertical strokes (*e. g.* τοῦ|το).

In the notes and explanations nothing has been admitted which did not strictly belong to the matter in hand. Words,

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 27, 52, 119.

however curious, which have found a place in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, are passed over without remark. And legal and constitutional terms are not dwelt upon, when any reader can refer for explanation to Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, or Pauly's *Real-encyclopädie*, or the admirable works of Schömann, *Antiquitates Juris publici Graecorum* and *Griechische Alterthümer*. Nothing, again, is more valuable to the student of Greek Dialects than the evidence of inscriptions—a subject which has been already dealt with in H. L. Ahrens' *De dialectis*, in Cauer's *Delectus*, and other works. Now, although many of my texts suggest points of dialectical and grammatical interest, these points will receive very little comment, since this selection was made with a very different purpose, and it was desirable to avoid wordiness.

There is an impression of unfamiliarity and strangeness about the style and expression of inscriptions, and there are many scholars to whom they are an unknown and uninviting region. I am, however, sufficiently sanguine to hope that this Manual may be the means of bringing some students face to face with the original marbles. Any one who has worked much at these will readily echo the confession of Böckh: 'However dry may seem the task of tracing the worn or broken characters upon the cold surface of the stone, yet the existing books on this subject sufficiently prove what a genuine enthusiasm many have felt for these time-honoured monuments of ancient civilization,—and I frankly own myself of their number<sup>1</sup>.' With this hope, I have been glad, whenever it was possible, to include in this selection any monuments which are close at hand, either in the Ashmolean and the Marble Room at Oxford, or in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, or are almost equally accessible to the English student in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. The Oxford reader *e. g.* is invited to work out carefully the printed texts, the originals of which

<sup>1</sup> *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, ii. p. 1.

are in the University Collection. If he will then, book in hand, consult the marbles word by word, he will in a few hours have learned more about Greek inscriptions than any written account could have taught him. If he wishes to proceed further into the subject, the best introduction is Franz's *Elementa Epigraphices Graecae*<sup>1</sup>.

An editor of inscriptions who desires to conciliate his reader's goodwill, must chiefly rely upon orderly arrangement of his materials—*lucidus ordo*. The arrangement of this volume is strictly *chronological*; and a date, more or less precise, is assigned to each document. The date of inscriptions has, in most cases, to be determined by internal and circumstantial evidence, the style of the characters being a principal indication. Neither is it always easy to connect an inscribed decree or treaty with known historical events. Though I do not share the scepticism of Professor Jowett, I hope I have used due caution, and have endeavoured in every case to draw a distinct line between what is fairly certain and what is as yet unverified hypothesis. The reader is throughout referred in the notes to sources where he will find the date and other details concerning the inscriptions fully reasoned out.

The divisions of the work follow the obvious periods into which Greek history seems to fall. It will be seen that the documents from Athens alone outnumber those from all the rest of Greece. This is partly owing to the greater historical importance of Attic inscriptions, requiring a larger proportion to be therefore included in an historical collection. But it is also true that no Greek government was so careful in inscribing<sup>2</sup> its public records as the Athenian; and moreover at Athens far more has been done than elsewhere in the way of excavation and the discovery of ancient monuments. It will be also noticed how at Athens (as elsewhere) the inscribed

<sup>1</sup> I may be allowed also to refer to an article on *Inscriptions (Greek)* in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Αναγράφαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην.



records became more numerous, and also more intolerably wordy, the later we proceed in the history. I have therefore spared the reader's patience by admitting very few of these later verbose decrees. Specimens, however, are given of various kinds, and examples have been selected as far as could be from every part of Greece. It is perhaps tedious and disappointing to examine the many hundreds of commonplace honorary decrees which are being turned up in every ancient site in Greece proper, in the islands, and in the Thracian and Asiatic colonies. And yet even these have a value. It is a fact of immense interest to the historical student to recognize the general resemblance of the formulas in which are cast the records of all the Greek-speaking race, from the time of Perikles onward. We are accustomed to dwell upon the isolation which prevailed among the Greek cities. We note how seas and mountains and diversities of race kept the Greeks asunder. The strange fact is that they should have been so sundered. For in truth the most rigid separation existed side by side with the closest resemblance and general unity. Their most divergent dialects were yet mutually intelligible. Their games, their religious centres, were bonds of unity. And though throughout the whole of that wide area every little town was a separate centre of corporate life, though the titles of their magistrates, and the names of their political and social institutions might differ, yet the type of civil government everywhere developed was the same with insignificant variations; or, if you looked more closely, you found but two types, the democratic and the oligarchic, and these admitted of very slight modifications.

It would have been possible to prolong the selection down to the times of Byzantine history. But it is evident that the political history of Greece as such comes to an end with the Roman Conquest. Accordingly, only a few documents have been included after the 'Liberation' decreed by Flamininus, B. C. 196. As we proceed later, although the Greek people still retained their own peculiar character, and their national

existence was unaffected by conquest, yet their historical documents became less and less important; the centre of things has shifted to Rome. What the interests of the Greeks were under the Empire, can be read in the Orations (far from uninteresting) of Aristides or Dion Chrysostom. We need by no means endorse the slighting estimate of the Greeks given by Tacitus and Juvenal. It was impossible for the Romans to do justice to the Greeks; they inevitably came into contact with them at their worst. Although their historical inscriptions are of little interest after the Roman Conquest, yet some of the most valuable inscriptions relating to the religious customs and other more private institutions of Hellas belong to these later days. The Greek religion, and all that gathered round it, still survived: and the very absence of great political interests will alone account, not only for the exuberance of later Greek rhetoric, but also for that excessive and universal growth of agonistic contests and religious festivals which marked the days of Greek subjection.

I have kept closer to Grote than to Curtius in the preparation of the volume. It did not suit the design of the great German historian to discuss fully at every step the grounds of his conclusions, and give the evidence on which they rest. Although in his later volumes his references to documents become more frequent, yet it is clear that Curtius feels himself to be writing *πρὸς εἰδότας*,—he is giving a brilliant representation of Greek national life, as the outcome of varied researches in which he himself has borne a distinguished part, and in which Böckh, Schömann, Kirchoff, and Köhler may be taken as representative names. For most English students Grote's History is of paramount value. True that only in his later volumes does Grote awake to the importance of epigraphical evidence, and then he only cites it cautiously and at second hand. But from first to last the reader is brought face to face with the existing literary evidence. Herodotos, Thukydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, acquire life and voice, and are made to tell us their own tale

of what they themselves had seen and heard. Not only in its human and political interest does Grote's work possess a fascination for the reader, but it is a valuable intellectual discipline to be shown at every step the processes of historical enquiry, and to be made by the great historian not only a listener to his story, but a sharer in his investigations. There is therefore this practical reason for citing Grote so often in this volume, that the reader will there find all the references to ancient historians which bear upon the events under discussion. Worthy to compare with Grote for his patient sifting of ancient texts, comparable to Curtius in his archaeological learning, is Droysen, who, in the last edition of his *Hellenismus*, has given a picture of Alexander's career, and of the terrible convulsions which followed his death. Certainly he has infused a new life and interest into a period which is of deep importance to the world's history, although most of us are repelled from it by the ghastly monotony of bloodshed and despotism, or are only attracted by a biographical rather than a historical interest.

Besides a continual reference to these principal modern historians, the reader will be in every instance informed where to find the various documents best edited and discussed. Since the publication of Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, great numbers of inscriptions have been discovered; and an attempt has been made to edit a complete collection of those from Attika in Kirchhoff's *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, three volumes of which have appeared. But for the inscriptions from other parts of Greece, and for many of the Attic ones also, you have to search up and down the volumes of the *Archäologische Zeitung*, the *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, and the various German, French, and Greek periodicals; not to mention the numerous dissertations which issue from the foreign Universities. I have endeavoured to glean from all of these the most interesting results of epigraphical studies; but much may have been overlooked. The task did not allow much room for origin-

ality; but the views of others have not been adopted without weighing them, and where possible some improvement has been added.

The wants of English readers have been steadily kept in view,—readers such as are to be found in growing numbers especially among the students of our Universities, who are well acquainted with Greek literature, and with the best modern writers upon classical civilization, who have perhaps visited Greece and the Levant, and have conceived a lively interest in classical archaeology. To such readers this volume is commended, as a humble attempt to further Hellenic studies. Perhaps some may wish the collection were more complete and comprehensive. At first I had thought of collecting into one chapter *all* the inscribed letters of kings, into another *all* inscribed laws, into another *all* known treaties, &c. But if that had been done, this volume would have assumed a very different shape, and would have included a great deal that is of little value. And, in fact, such an exhaustive collection of various kinds of documents did not fall within the scope of the book. Neither have I included the famous *Parian Chronicle* (*C. I. G.* 2374). For valuable as it is to the chronologer, we must not forget that it is merely a private document drawn up about the third century B. C., probably by some schoolmaster for the instruction of his pupils. It was with more regret that I forebore to include the whole series of *Quota-lists* from B. C. 454 to 420. But the fact is that however important these documents are (being no less than authentic lists of the Athenian Confederation), yet it is certain that all who wish to study them to advantage must go straight to Köhler's *Urkunden* (or to Böckh's *Staatshaus-haltung*, vol. ii), where not only the texts are exhibited at large, but all sorts of questions arising out of the texts are fully discussed. It would have done the reader little service to present him with the complete series of texts, without reproducing also a great part of Böckh's and Köhler's remarks. It seemed wiser therefore to insert four or five especially inter-

esting specimens of the series, with suitable notes; and to refer the reader to previous writers for further information. For similar reasons I have not made any selections from the Athenian admiralty records, which occupy the third volume of Böckh's *Staatshaushaltung*.

I have received help from so many friends in the course of the work, that I must be content to make this general but not less sincere acknowledgment of their kindness. For the book, as it stands, I am alone responsible. I have endeavoured to be accurate; and those who have worked at such subjects the most will be the kindest critics of a task wherein the countless points of detail afford as many opportunities of error.

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## NOTANDA

### The Printing of the Inscriptions.

[ ] Square brackets enclose letters which are supposed to have stood formerly on the original and are supplied by conjecture: e. g. ΕΔΟΧΣΕΝΤΕ ΟΛΕΙ ἔδοχσεν τῆ[ι β]ουλῆι.

( ) Curved brackets enclose:

1. Letters supposed to have been wrongly omitted by the stone-cutter: e. g. ΜΕΓΑΚΕΟΥΣ Μεγακ(λ)έους.
2. Letters supposed to have been misrepresented by the stone-cutter: e. g. ΟΤΔΟΗΙ ὀ(γ)δόηι.
3. Letters completing an abbreviation: e. g. ΔΡΑΗΗΗ[Α] δρα(χμίων) ΗΗΗ[Α].

< > Angular brackets enclose letters supposed to have been superfluously written by the stone-cutter: e. g. ΚΑΙΕΓΕΝΟΣ καὶ <ε> γένος. Note that the epigraphic usage in this point differs from that of textual criticism.

| Marks the beginning of a new line on the stone.

|| Every fifth new line. In most cases in the present volume the divisions of the original are followed in the text, so that the use of these signs is unnecessary.

. . . . Dots represent each a single letter for which there is space on the originals, but of which no restoration is attempted. The distinction between a single dot of this kind and a full-stop must be left to the sense.

- - - Dashes represent a lacuna of which the extent is uncertain.

### Alphabets.

A cursive text fails to give any idea of the appearance of the original. Apart from the slightly varying forms of letters such as Δ, Α, ζ, Σ, which may furnish valuable indications of date, there are, to take only the alphabet of Attic inscriptions, certain important distinctions of spelling which must be briefly noted here. In B. C. 403 (the archonship of Eukleides) Athens first officially adopted the Ionic (Milesian) alphabet, although even in official documents we occasionally find it used, either in some of its forms, or systematically, as early as the middle of the fifth century. Up till the archonship of Eukleides,

however, the regular Attic alphabet preserves the following as its most important peculiarities:

Λ	represents	γ
Ε	„	ε, η or ει
Η	„	the rough breathing
Λ	„	λ
+ξ (Χξ, +Σ, ΧΣ)	represents	ξ
Ο	represents	ο, ω or ου
Φξ (ΦΣ)	represents	ψ.

The diphthongs ει and ου are however often written in full, especially when they do not result from contraction; thus ΤΟΥΤΟ may stand for either τούτου or τούτο. But there is considerable irregularity in practice, and Ο continues to represent ου for some time after the Eukleidean reform.

The method adopted in many modern epigraphic works, of using ε and ο wherever and with whatever value Ε and Ο appear on the original, has much to recommend it. We have not adopted it, out of deference to the traditions of English education, to which writings like θεῶν καὶ ζευγῶν for θητῶν καὶ ζευγῶν appear to be offensive. But χσ and φσ have invariably been used where the double letters on the original stand as indicated above. As regards the rough breathing, various courses were available:

1. To ignore its presence or absence, spelling the word in its usual literary form, and writing ἡμερῶν whether the original has ΗΜΕΡΟΝ or ΕΜΕΡΟΝ or ΗΜΕΡΩΝ;

2. To represent these three forms by ἡμερῶν, ημερῶν (or ἡμερῶν) and ἡμερῶν respectively (the position of the sign to the left of the vowel in the first showing that it represents a distinct letter in the original);

3. To adopt a new sign. Most editors in this case employ a Latin h. It has seemed more in keeping with the rest of the fount to use the form ḥ, which is recommended by the fact that it actually recalls one of the forms used for the aspirate in some Greek alphabets and by the Alexandrian grammarians. In this volume therefore, ḥ implies that Η or some such form is used on the stone for the aspirate, ḥ that it is omitted, either by the stone-cutter's mistake, or because it is foreign to the alphabet. Of the three forms given above the first will therefore appear as ḥημερῶν, the two others as ἡμερῶν.

For further peculiarities of alphabets, which must not detain us here, the student should consult A. Kirchhoff's *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets* or Roberts' *Greek Epigraphy*.

### Spelling.

Many peculiarities of spelling will confront the beginner. Perhaps the most disturbing is the tendency to represent doubled consonants by single ones, which is characteristic of many early inscriptions: ἀλογώσους

for ἀλλογλώσσους in no. 3 (α) is a good example. Assimilations such as τὰλ λόγον and τῆμ πόλιν offer no difficulty. Forms like ἐστήλην for ἐς στήλην, ἐστήληι for ἐν στήληι are more peculiar. These have been printed εἴ στήλην, εἴ στήληι, since either (1) the final letter of the preposition is first, if necessary, assimilated to the initial of the next word, and the resultant σσ represented by the single σ; or (2) the final letter of the preposition is simply dropped. A similar case is found in no. 24, where τοῖς Δ seems to have become τοῖλ Δ and then τοῖ Δ.

The ι which in classical texts is represented as subscript, is always, where on the original it appears in the line with the other letters, printed as adscript: ΤΕ|ΒΟΛΕΙ is represented by τῆι βουλῆι, not τῆ βουλῆι. An instance of inconsistency in a single line is furnished by no. 89. Here, and in no. 158, l. 6, where the omission of the ι is exceptional, we have represented it as subscript. On the other hand, where, as in the Lesbian portions of no. 157, its omission is characteristic, it has not been represented at all.

The Greeks of the fourth century B. C. and later appear to have pronounced Η| and Ε| so much alike that these forms are often substituted for each other:

τεῖ βουλεῖ for τῆι βουλῆι

εἰτήσατο for ἡτήσατο

δόξει for δόξηι.

See p. 189. For further details on this and similar matters reference should be made to Meisterhans' *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*.

### Cutting and Disposition of Inscriptions.

The documents with which we have to deal are usually cut with a chisel; in a few cases they are merely scratched with a sharp point. For inscriptions on bronze a graver could be used, or the letters could be pricked out; again, the letters of no. 115 are in repoussé work. In the more carefully cut inscriptions the lapidary was guided by a sketch on the stone, or by straight lines lightly ruled with a point. After cutting, the letters were frequently coloured red, or red and blue, in order to make them more easily legible.

The earliest Greek inscriptions read from right to left—a feature due to the Phœnician origin of the Greek art of writing. The next stage is that known as βουστροφηδόν, in which the lines read alternately from right to left and from left to right. The metaphor from the direction taken in ploughing is obvious. This again gave way to the style to which we are now accustomed, in which the lines read consistently from left to right. In Attika this last change came in about the middle of the sixth century B. C.

As regards the disposition of the letters, the only peculiarity to which it is necessary to call attention here is the arrangement known as στοιχηδόν, in which each letter stands immediately beneath a letter in

the line above, so that, supposing all the lines to be of the same length, the number of letters in the line is constant. The earliest instance of this arrangement is found in the first six lines of the Salamis inscription (no. 4). It was especially characteristic of Attic inscriptions in the fifth and fourth centuries, but was by no means invariably employed even in Attika. Occasionally also we find a narrow letter like | forced into the space belonging to the letter preceding it; and the spacing of numerals is especially irregular. This feature, conditioning as it does the restoration of a mutilated inscription, is of great importance to the epigraphist.

Numerical and Monetary Signs.

The signs which chiefly concern us here are those used in Attic inscriptions in the calculation of sums of money. In some lists we meet with the usual numeral signs  $\sqcap$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$ ) = 5,  $\Delta$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha$ ) = 10,  $\text{H}$  ( $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ) = 100,  $\chi$  ( $\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ ) = 1000 with combinations such as  $\sqcap$  or  $\sqcap\Delta$  (=  $\sqcap \times \Delta$  = 50). When, in expressing sums of money, these signs are used simply, they express *drachmai*; in order to express other denominations they must be combined with the signs appropriate to those denominations. These are, for the Attic system :

						Represented by
Talent						T
Mina	60					M
Drachme	6,000	100				⊥
Obol	36,000	600	6			
Hemiobelion	72,000	1,200	412	2		( or )

In addition the *stater* of gold is represented by  $\zeta$  or  $\Sigma$ . Attic money is generally reckoned in talents, drachms, and obols; but we frequently find mention of Kyzikene gold staters and the like. The following table may give some idea of the way in which the signs are used.

	1	5	6	10	25	50	100	500	1000
Hemiobols	C								
Obols									
Drachms	⊥	⊥	⊥⊥	Δ	ΔΔ⊥	⊥	H	⊥	X
Talents	T	⊥	⊥T	⊥	⊥⊥⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	χ
Staters	Σ	⊥	⊥Σ	Δ or Δ	ΔΔ⊥	⊥	⊥	⊥	χ

Value of Money.

In spite of the misleading nature of all attempts to express the value of ancient coins in modern, it is as well to remember that, the standard weight of the English shilling being 87.27 grs. troy, and that of the Attic drachm 67.28 grs. troy, the latter coin compares with our shilling as about 9½d., or, roughly, a franc. On the same principle, an Attic silver talent would correspond to something over £230. The Attic gold stater

weighed normally 134.57 grs. troy (our sovereign weighs 123.27 grs. troy). The Kyzikene stater of electrum (a mixture of gold and silver in somewhat fluctuating proportions) weighed normally about 252 grs. troy; its value in terms of silver is uncertain.

### The Athenian Civil Year.

The Athenian civil year began on 1st Hekatombaion (July), and most of the officials took office on this date. But the treasurers of Athena and the 'Other Gods,' the Hellenotamiai, and some others, entered on office at the Panathenaia (28th Hekatombaion). The Athenians reckoned the Olympian year from the same date as their own civil year. Thus the year B. C. comprises the last six months of one archonship and year of the Olympiad, and the first six months of the next. (See the list of archons, pp. 314 foll.)

### Council and Assembly.

The Attic year, so far as the βουλή was concerned, was divided into ten periods (*πρυτανείαι*) of 35 or 36 days each. Each tribe 'prytanized' in turn (*ἐπρυτάνευε*) in an order determined by lot, in the person of its 50 βουλευταί. These 50 πρυτάνεις during their term lived in the πρυτανεῖον and acted as the 'Government' or Cabinet for the time being. The addition of two tribes in B. C. 307 made the cycle of prytanies coincide with the twelve months. The president (*ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων*) was appointed by lot for one day and night. In the fifth century he presided in the Ekklesia as well as in the Council. But soon after the archonship of Eukleides it became the rule for the *ἐπιστάτης* of the πρυτάνεις to appoint by lot a πρόεδρος out of each of the tribal sections of the βουλή excepting the φυλή πρυτανεύουσα. Among these nine πρόεδροι one was further appointed *ἐπιστάτης*, and thus to the πρόεδροι and their foreman were transferred the duties of presiding in the sittings of the βουλή and ἐκκλησία. The πρυτάνεις and their *ἐπιστάτης* retained only their more formal duties, such as the custody of the public seal, and the performance of the periodical sacrifices of the βουλή. At the meetings of the Ekklesia, all business was introduced by the Council, who drew up a προβούλευμα which was laid before the Assembly by one of their members. This προβούλευμα either contained a definite proposal, or asked the Ekklesia to decide independently. The chief secretary to the Council, until some time between B. C. 368-7 and 363-2, only held office for one Prytany; afterwards he was appointed for a whole year. For further details as to these subjects see especially Gilbert, *Greek Const. Ant.* (Eng. trans.), pp. 268 ff., 291 ff.

# A MANUAL

OF

## GREEK HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS

### PART I

#### BEFORE THE PERSIAN WAR

B. C. 700-490.

THE date of the introduction of writing among the Greeks has been a matter of keen controversy, especially from the time of Wolff. Thanks chiefly to the discoveries of Mr. A. J. Evans, we know that long before the introduction of what was to become the Greek alphabet, the inhabitants of the Islands were in possession of a system of writing. This however does not seem to have had any influence on the future development of the art among the Greeks, who, so far as the historic period is concerned, must still be regarded as the debtors of the Phoenicians. It is now generally admitted that the Greeks had learned the art of writing from this great commercial people not later than the ninth century, and probably as much as three centuries earlier (see Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik*, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, Vol. I, pp. 496 foll.). For a long time however it would only be employed for such limited and private uses as the writing of names on lots (*κληροί*). Probably its more extended use began in the temples, where inscribed offerings (*ἀναθήματα*) and registers of priests and of sacrifices existed at an early date. The first public use of writing was perhaps in making official record of agreements between allied cities; and then by degrees it came to be generally employed for public documents. It is likely that the Greeks did not begin

to inscribe upon marble until they had experimented with the use of writing on leaves, clay, metal, wood, and other substances. Certainly the cramped and awkward characters of the earliest extant inscriptions prove that writing must have been an unfamiliar art in Greece as late as the seventh century.

The earliest recorded example of an inscribed offering is the Quoit of Iphitos, thus described by Pausanias (v. 20. 1; cp. 4. 4; Plut. *Lycurg.* 1): ἔστι δὲ ἐνταῦθα (in the Heraion at Olympia) καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα . . . καὶ ὁ Ἴφίτου δίσκος . . . ὁ δὲ Ἴφίτου δίσκος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἐπαγγέλλουσι Ἡλεῖοι, ταύτην οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἐχει γεγραμμένην, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλου σχῆμα περιείσιω ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα. It contained the formula for proclaiming the sacred armistice; Iphitos, with Lykurgos, being named upon it as the founder of the Olympian Festival. There is no reason to suspect this of being a late forgery; but it is very doubtful whether it was inscribed before the first Olympiad (B. C. 776), the date at which the definite chronology of Greece is supposed to begin; and there are even grave doubts as to the authenticity of the early Olympian register (Mahaffy in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1881, pp. 164 foll.; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i<sup>2</sup>. p. 586). The Theban inscriptions which impressed Herodotos with their antiquity (v. 58 foll.) can hardly be earlier than the seventh century (Bergk, *Gr. Literaturgesch.* i. p. 205). And to this century at the earliest belong the oldest extant inscriptions from Thera and Krete (Roberts, *Introd. to Greek Epigr.* i. pp. 31, 52).

Of the other kind of sacred inscriptions, the temple-registers, or ἀναγραφαί, no original specimen has survived. They are often mentioned by ancient writers, though it is doubtful how many were really of high antiquity (see Böckh, *C. I. G.* i. p. 63; A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, iv. p. 292; Müller, *Dorians*, Eng. Tr. i. p. 149; Comm. on Thuk. ii. 2; and Preller, *de Hellenico* in his *Ausgew. Aufsätze*, p. 51, on the register of the Argive priestesses). But a very interesting transcript exists of one such register, in an inscription from Halikarnassos (*C. I. G.* 2655; Michel, *Recueil*, 877; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 608), the opening of which is thus restored by Böckh:



[Ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ (or the like), εἰπόντος τοῦ δεινός  
 τοῦ Ἄριστοκλέους· μεταγράψαι [ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας  
 σ]τήλης τῆς παρεστῶσης τοῖς ἀγά[λμασι τοῖς  
 τ]οῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ (Ἰ)σθμίου τοὺς γεγ[ενημένους]  
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως κατὰ γένος ἱερεῖς τοῦ Πο[σειδῶ]-  
 νος τοῦ κατιδρυθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν τῆν ἀποικί[αν ἐκ]  
 Τροι(ζ)ῆνος ἀγαγόντων Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀπόλλω[νι.]

Then follows a list of the priests, beginning with 'Telamon son of Poseidon' and other mythical names, but of course comprising also the true names and succession of historical priests. Böckh imagines this transcript to have been made not earlier than the second century B. C. \* But the ancient original he assumes to have been inscribed about the time of the latest recorded priest, i. e. probably 691 B. C. The data however are not to be implicitly trusted.

## 1 [1].

### Early struggles between Megara and Korinth, B. C. 720.

From Megara; now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. See Böckh, *C. I. G.* 1050; *Kleine Schriften*, iv. p. 173; Dittenberger, *C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 52; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 843.

Ὀρρίππω Μεγαρήs με δαίφρονι τῆδε ἀρίδην  
 μῶμα θέσαν, φάμα Δελφίδι πειθόμενοι·  
 ὃs δὴ μακίστους μὲν ὄρους ἀπελύσατο πάτρα  
 πολλὰν δυσμενέων γᾶν ἀποτεμνομένων,  
 5 πρᾶτος δ' Ἑλλάνων ἐν Ὀλυμπία ἔστεφανώθη  
 γυμνός, ζωννυμένων τῶν πρὶν ἐνὶ σταδίῳ.

Epitaph on Orsippus, who won the foot-race at Olympia B. C. 720 (Ol. 15), and freed the Megarid from the encroachments of the Korinthians: composed perhaps by Simonides (B. C. 556-467 B. C.), when this tomb was erected by command of the oracle. The present inscription is not older than the time of Hadrian, but is clearly a copy of the old inscription, then wearing out. Pausanias (i. 44. 1) appears to have seen the original epitaph: Κοροίβου δὲ τέθαπται πλησίον Ὀρσιππος, ὃs περιεζωσμένων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ δῆ τι παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀθλητῶν

ἐν Ὀλυμπία ἐνίκα στάδιον δραμῶν γυμνός. φασὶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγούντα ὕστερον τὸν Ὀρσιππον ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν τῶν προσοίκων. See Frazer *ad loc.*, and cp. Scholiast and Comm. on Thuk. i. 6; Grote, pt. 2, ch. 9.

## 2 [2].

## Early naval power of Korkyra, B. C. 600, or earlier.

Epitaph from Korkyra in memory of Arniadas, who had died in battle in the Ambrakian gulf. Βουστροφηδόν. Ross, *Archäol. Aufsätze*, ii. Taf. 21, 22; Vischer, *Rh. Mus.* ix. 383; Blass, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 3189; Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.* 180; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 343, *Imagines* (1898), p. 74; Roberts, no. 99; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 47; Dittenberger, *C. Inscr. Gr.* *Sept.* iii (1), 868; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 105.

Σάμα τόδε Ἀρνιαδά· χαροπὸς τόνδ' ὤλε|σεν Ἄρης  
βαρνάμενον παρὰ ναυσ|ιν ἐπ' Ἀράθθιοιο ρ' οφαῖσι,  
πολλὸ|ν ἀριστεύ(τ)οντα κατὰ στονοῦ|εσαν ἀφυτάν.

This could hardly be the 'earliest known sea-fight' recorded by Thukydides as having taken place B. C. 664 (i. 13); it appears to have rather been a fight on shore, at the mouth of the Arachthos. But the fight was very probably between Korkyraians and Corinthians; both Herodotos (iii. 49) and Thukydides (i. 25) mention the early struggle between Korkyra and her mother-city for the supremacy by sea, and for the monopoly of trade with the inhabitants of Epeiros and Illyris; cp. Grote, pt. 2, ch. 23.

## 3 [3].

## Psammetichos II and his Greek mercenaries, B. C. 594-589.

On the legs of one of the colossal statues before the great temple of Abusimbel in Nubia. *C. I. G.* 5126; Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypt. u. Aethiop.* xii. Abth. vi. Bl. 99, Gr. 531, also 534, 536 and Bl. 98, Gr. 515-519, 528-530; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 37 foll.; Blass, *Hermes*, xiii. 381; Wiedemann, *Rhein. Mus.* 1880, pp. 364 foll.; E. Abel, *Wiener Studien*, 1881, pp. 161 foll.; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 482, *Imagines* (1898), pp. 47, 48; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i<sup>2</sup>. 477; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 152, 155; Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* iii. pp. 49 (no. 104), 54 (no. 112); B. Keil, *Hermes*, 1894, pp. 268 foll.

(α) Βασιλέος ἐλθόντος ἐς Ἐλεφαντίναν Ψαματίχου,  
ταῦτα ἔγραψαν τοὶ σὺν Ψαματίχῳ τῷ Θεοκλ(έ)ος  
ἔπλεον, ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατύπερθε, υἱς ὁ ποταμὸς

ἀνίη, ἀλογλώσσους δ' ἦχε Ποτασιμτώ, Αἰγυπτίους δὲ Ἄμασις.  
 5 ἔγραφε δ' ἀμὲ Ἄρχων Ἀμοιβίχου καὶ Πέλεκος Οὐδάμον.

(b) Ἐλεσίβυς ὁ Τήϊος.

(c) Τήλεφός μ' ἔγραφε ὁ Ἰαλύσιος[ - - ]

(d) Πύθων Ἀμοιβίχ[ου].

(e) Πάβις ὁ Φολοφώνιος - - σὺν Ψαμματ[ίχῳ]

(f) Ἀγέσερμος[s].

(g) Πασιρων ὁ Ἴππου (οἱ ἵππο-).

(h) Κρίθις ἔγρα(φε)ν.

(i) Ὀμγυσόβ(?) ὄκα βασιλεὺς ἤλασε τὸν στρατὸν [τ]ὸ πρῶτο[ν]  
 - - - ἄμ]α Ψαματίχῳ[ι ἦλθον].

The last is βουστροφηδόν.

It has been much doubted whether the king mentioned in (a) is Psammetichos I (B. C. 654-617), or Psammetichos II (called Psammis by Herodotos, but Psamatik in Egyptian monuments), who reigned B. C. 594-589. We follow A. Wiedemann (*Rh. Mus.* 1. c.) in adopting the later date. It appears that certain Greek and other soldiers in the service of the Egyptian king had marched with him as far south as Elephantine. Here they took boats and explored the river *υἱς* (= *quos*) ὁ π. ἀνίη, 'as far as it let them go up,' i. e. up to the second cataract. On their way back they wrote their names at Abusimbel, in memory of the exploit. *Κέρκιος* seems to be intended for *Κέρτιος*, *Kerti* in the Egyptian texts signifying the surface of water which broadens from the first cataract as far as Elephantine. In (a) we may take 'Psamatichos son of Theokles' to be the son of a Greek mercenary of Psammetichos I (Herod. ii. 152), who named his son after his master. The Ionian or Karian mercenaries whom Ποτασιμτώ commanded are called ἀλλόγλωσσοι in opposition to the Egyptians (cf. Herodotos ii. 154: πρῶτοι οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν). The commandant's name is Egyptian (see Krall, *Wiener Studien*, 1881, p. 164). (b) Ἐλεσίβυς for Ἐλεσίβιος (Hoffmann prefers Ἠγησίβυς for Ἠγησίβουλος). (e) Πά(μ)βις for Πάμβιος. (g) Πασιρων is perhaps a mis-writing for Πασιφῶν. In (i) the long vowel of ἤλασε is expressed by η and ε combined.

## 4.

## Salamis acquired by the Athenians, B. C. 570-560.

Six fragments of a stelè, inscribed so that the lines read vertically downward; the block narrowed gradually towards the upper end. Köhler, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ix (1884), pp. 117 foll.; Kirchoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), pp. 57 and 164, no. 1 a; Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xii (1888), pp. 1 foll.; Gomperz, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xiii (1888), pp. 137 foll.; Lolling, *Δελτίον*, 1888, pp. 117, 118; Gomperz, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* xii (1888), pp. 61 foll.; Lipsius, *Leipziger Studien*, xii. p. 221; B. Keil, *Hermes*, 1894, p. 17; A. Wilhelm, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxiii (1898), pp. 466 foll. (with photographic facsimile, pl. x, and full references); Judeich, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxiv (1899), pp. 321 foll.; Roberts-Gardner, ii. no. 1. Lines 1-6 are στοιχηδόν.

§ 1. Ἐδοχσεν τῶι δῆμωι [τὸν ἐ' Σα]λα[μῖνι κατοικοῦντα]  
οἰκεῖν ἐὰν Σαλαμῖνι [καὶ πο]λεῖν, [παρὰ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι]-  
σι τε[λ]εῖν καὶ στρατ[εύεσθ]αι; § 2. τ[ὸν] ἑαυτοῦ χῶρον μ]-  
ῆ μι[σθ]οῦν. ἐὰν μὴ οἰκ[ῆ]ι ἐκεῖ<sup>†</sup>ο [κάτοικος τὸν χῶρον]-  
5 ν δὲ [μισθοῖ, ἀποτί]νειν τὸ μισθούμενόν τε καὶ τὸ μ]-  
ισθοῦντα ἑκάτε[ρον] τὸ τετραπλάσιον τοῦ μισθοῦ]  
ἐς δ[η]μόσιο[ν], ἐσπράτειν δὲ τὸν ἐκεῖ ἄ]-  
ρχο[ν]τα· ἐὰν [ἀμελῆ]ι, α]ὔ[τὸν] ὀφείλειν; § 3. τ]-  
ὰ δὲ [ῥ]όπλα π[αρέχ]εσθ[αι] ἢ καταθεῖναι: τ]-  
10 ριά[κ]οντα: δρ[αχμὰς]<sup>†</sup> ὄ[ς] ἂν θέληι, ἀπὸ τούτω]-  
ν δὲ [τ]ὸν ἄρχο[ν]τα τὰ ῥόπλα αὐτῶι παρέχ]-  
ειν: [ἐπ]ὶ τῆς β[ουλή]ς τῆς ἐπὶ - - -

A thoroughly satisfactory restoration of this important inscription will doubtless never be made; but enough remains to show that this, the oldest extant decree of the Athenian people, relates to the settlement of the affairs of Salamis at some time in the sixth century B. C. The phrase οἰκεῖν ἐὰν and the formula παρ' Ἀθηναῖοισι τε[λ]εῖν καὶ στρατ[εύεσθ]αι make it almost certain that we have not to do with a kleruchy, since in that case we should expect merely the command οἰκεῖν, while the formula as to taxation and military service is not applicable to Athenian citizens. Wilhelm's suggestion, adopted by Judeich, that the persons concerned are the old population of Salamis who are left in possession of at least a part of their lands, seems to be suitable to the text. (The phrase ἐὰν οἰκεῖν applied to kleruchs would mean merely

'permission to reside'; applied to inhabitants already there it would mean more, and would be quite compatible with the compulsory residence for which the regulation is given in § 2.) The restorations given in the text are those adopted or for the first time suggested by Judeich, who however prefers κληρον to χωρον in lines 3 and 4. His suggestion πολεῖν in l. 2 must be taken in the most general sense of the word, i. e. to live in a place. In the great uncertainty which attaches to these restorations, we can only say that the decree regulates (§ 2) the tenure of land in Salamis by the old inhabitants; forbidding them to let their land on pain of a fine; and (§ 3) the arrangements for military service with the Athenian army.

Such a regulation of the affairs of Salamis as we have here, whatever may be the true restoration of the details, must have been effected at the time of the Athenian acquisition of the island in the first half of the sixth century. Sparta decided in favour of the Athenian claim, probably after the seizure of Nisaia by Peisistratos about 570. See Judeich, *op. cit.* p. 333, note 1; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* ii<sup>2</sup>. p. 217, note 2.

## 5 [4].

### Kroisos and his gifts to the Ephesian Temple: about

B. C. 550.

On five fragments of moulding (*torus*) from the bases of columns found by Mr. Wood in excavating the temple of Artemis at Ephesos: they manifestly belong to the old temple burnt down by Herostratos. They are now in the British Museum, where one of the columns is restored (*Catal. of Archaic Greek Sculpture*, no. 29; *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* x. pl. 3; Collignon, *Sculpt. Gr.* i. p. 180; *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* 518). See Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 493; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 1; Michel, *Recueil*, 1210; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 21, 22.

(a) [Βασιλεὺς] Κροῖσος ἀνέ[θηκ[εν].

(b) Βα[σιλεὺς Κροῖσος] ἀνέ[θηκεν].

(c) [. . . . . ἀνέθηκ]εν.

The restored readings are highly probable. Herodotos says (i. 92): Κροῖσῳ δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ . . . ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ, αἶ τε βόες αἰ χρύσειαι καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἰ πολλαί.

## 6 [5].

## The age of the Tyrants, sixth century B. C.

From the ruins of the temple of Apollo at Branchidai ('on a fragment in the wall of a house on the Sacred Way'). Βουστροφηδόν. Newton, *Discoveries at Cnidus, Halicarnassus, &c.*, p. 787, N<sup>o</sup>. 72 a; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 490; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 97; Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* iii. p. 58, no. 123; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 17.

Ἰστια[ῖος | ἀνέθ]ηκε τῶ|πόλλω[νι.

This inscription is from the base of some offering dedicated at Didyma, perhaps by the famous tyrant of Miletos. Grote, pt. 2, ch. 34.

## 7 [6].

## The age of the Tyrants, sixth century B. C.

On the front of the chair of one of the seated figures from the Sacred Way at Branchidai. Βουστροφηδόν. In the British Museum: *Catal. of Archaic Greek Sculpture*, no. 14; Hirschfeld, *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* no. 933; Newton, *Discoveries, &c.*, 784, pl. xvii; Collignon, *Sculpt. Gr.* i. fig. 77; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 19; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 488; *Imagines* (1898), p. 49; Roberts, p. 163; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 98; Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* iii. p. 57, no. 121; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 749; Michel, *Recueil*, 1208; Facsimiles of the Palaeographical Society, i. pl. 76.

Χάρης εἰμὶ ὁ Κλείσιος, Τειχιούσης ἀρχός,  
ἄ(γ)αλ(μ)α τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

We may take Chares to have been one of the many 'tyrants' who flourished in the Greek cities of Asia under the Persian rule between 550 and 500 B.C. At a later date Teichiussa was a dependency of Miletos. The statue was intended as a portrait of Chares; ἄγαλμα is 'an offering in honour of' the god (see Böckh, *C. I. G.* vol. i. p. 7).

## 8 [7].

## The age of the Tyrants, sixth century B. C.

The famous Sigeian inscription; in the British Museum. Inscribed Βουστροφηδόν. On a pillar 7 ft. 7½ in. high, 1 ft. 7½ in. wide at foot, 1 ft. 6¾ in. at top, 10½ in. thick. Böckh considered it an 'archaizing' forgery of the age of the Ptolemies: but its genuineness has been fully vindicated by Kirchhoff and others: Böckh, *C. I. G.* 8; Löschecke, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.*

iv (1879), pp. 297 foll. ; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 492 ; *Imagines* (1898), p. 50 ; Löwy, *Inscr. Gr. Bildh.* 4 ; Hirschfeld, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1885, 778 ; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* no. 103 ; U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Lectiones epigraphicae* (Index Schol. Gotting. 1885-6), pp. 3 foll. ; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 22.

(a) *In Ionic dialect and characters* :—

Φανοδίκου  
 εἰμὶ τοῦρμοκ-  
 ράτεος τοῦ  
 Προκουνη-  
 5 σίου· κρητῆρ-  
 α δὲ καὶ ὑποκ-  
 ρητῆριον κ-  
 αὶ ἠθμόν ἐς π-  
 ρυτανήϊον  
 10 ἔδωκεν Σ[ιγε-  
 εὔσι]ν.

(b) *In Attic dialect and characters* :—

Φανοδίκου εἰμὶ τοῦ  
 Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Προκο-  
 νησίου καὶ γώ· κρητῆρα  
 κάπιστατον καὶ ἠθμ-  
 5 ὄν ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἔ-  
 δωκα μνήμα Σιγευ-  
 εὔσι. ἐὰν δέ τι πάσχ-  
 ῶ μελεδαίνειν με, ᾧ  
 Σιγείῃς. καὶ μ' ἐπό-  
 10 εισεν Ἄλσωπος καὶ  
 ἄδελφοί.

The pillar, on the top of which is a socket, was probably surmounted by an aëtoma, or possibly by a small relief ; it is too narrow to have supported a bust. Above and below the inscription the spaces which are now blank were probably once painted. Kirchhoff's view is that Phanodikos was tyrant of Prokonnesos in the first half of the sixth century B. C. (like Metrodoros, Herodotos iv. 138, i. e. B. C. 515). Being on good terms with the government of Sigeion, then in the hands of the Athenians, he presented a bronze (?) krater

and tripod-stand for it, together with a wine-strainer, for the use of the Sigeian prytaneion. He accompanied this gift with a pillar to commemorate himself, inscribed in his Ionic home by Prokonnesian workmen (*inscription a*), and adorned with a picture of himself. When the Sigeians erected the monument, they re-engraved the inscription in Attic lower down on the pillar, nearer the eye-line, with one or two improvements (*inscription b*) and a second painting below (?). The monument of Phanodikos *loquitur*: 'And if I am receiving injury, take care of me, Sigeians. Now Aisopos made me, and his brethren.' The reading of lines 10, 11 was probably as here given; an examination of the stone reveals no trace of the strange form  $\Sigma\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omega$  read by Röhl. Compare a similar twofold document from Kyzikos, discovered 1874: *Hermes*, xv. p. 92; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 464; Michel, *Recueil*, 532.

## 9 [8].

## Treaty between Eleians and Heraians, B. C. 550-500.

A bronze tablet brought from Olympia by Sir W. Gell in 1813; now in the British Museum. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 11; Franz, *El. Ep. Gr.* p. 64; Facsimiles of the Palaeographical Society, i. pl. 78; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 162, cp. *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 68; *Gk. Inscr. in B. M.* no. 157; *Catal. of Bronzes*, 264; Michel, *Recueil*, 1; Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 258; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 110; cf. *Add.* p. 176; *Imag.* (1898), p. 36; Blass, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 1149; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Inscr. von Olympia*, 9 and p. 795; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* 27; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i<sup>2</sup>. p. 706. Every letter is clear.

Ἄ φράτρα τοῖρ Φαλείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἡρ-  
 φαίοις. Συμμαχία κ' εἶα ἑκατὸν φέτεα.  
 ἄρχοι δέ κα τοῖ. αἰ δέ τι δέοι, αἴτε φέπος αἴτε φ-  
 ἄργον, συνείαν κ' ἀλάλοις τά τ' ἄλ' καὶ πᾶ-  
 5 ρ πολέμω. αἰ δὲ μὰ συνείαν τάλαντόν κ'  
 ἀργύρω ἀποτίνοιαν τῶι Δι' Ὀλυμπίωι τοῖ κα-  
 δαλημένοι λατρεῖόμενον. αἰ δέ τιρ τὰ γ-  
 ράφεια ταῖ καθαλέοιτο, αἴτε φέτας αἴτε τ-  
 ελεστὰ αἴτε δᾶμος, ἔν τ' ἐπιάρωι κ' ἐνέχ-  
 10 οῖτο τῶι ἕνταυτ' ἐγραμένωι.



Those who are curious about the dialect may consult Meister, *Griech. Dialekte*, ii. pp. 47 foll., and cp. Strab. 333. Double letters (λλ, μμ, δδ) are not written. For the second proper name many read Εὐφαίους, but the second letter is more like ρ than υ. We append a version :

*'This is the covenant between the Eleians and the Heraians. There shall be alliance for a hundred years : and this (year) shall begin (it) : and if either need help, whether of word or deed, they shall stand by one another, in all other affairs, and in respect of (πάρ = περί) warfare : and if they stand not by each other, they who have so offended (Zeus) shall pay a talent of silver to Olympian Zeus, to be confiscated to him. And if any one shall injure this inscription, whether private man, or magistrate, or community, (the offender) shall be liable to the sacred fine (τῷ ἐπιάρῳ) here written.'*

The Eleians, after a long struggle, dispossessed the Pisatans of the management of the Olympic temple and games (B. C. 572), which appears to have been in the hands of the former people at the time of this treaty (Grote, pt. 2, ch. 7 fin.). The Spartans, now masters of Messenia, and extending their conquests in the direction of Arkadia and Argolis, found it to their interest to play the part of protectors of the Eleians in their sacred prerogative (Grote, *ibid.*; E. Curtius, *Hist. of Gr.*, Eng. tr., i. p. 237). As for Arkadia, its several states, with no power of mutual cohesion, were either drawn into the Spartan alliance (as Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos), or formed other connexions as fortune might dictate. This tablet shows us the Heraians associating themselves with the now influential Eleians. (Another interpretation dates it somewhat earlier, before the subjection of the Pisatans—see Busolt, *loc. cit.*) It would be an anachronism to speak of *Elis* or *Heraia*, for neither was united into a city (*συννοικισμός*) until the fourth century B. C. (Strabo, p. 337); till then they had dwelt *κατὰ κώμας*: hence *δάμος* in the treaty. τὸ ἐπίαρρον must refer to the fine already mentioned, rather than mean 'curse' like the Attic ἐπαρά (cf. Ziebarth, in *Hermes*, xxx (1895), p. 64), since no such curse has been mentioned, and the inscription seems to be quite complete.

## 10 [9].

## The Peisistratids : B. C. 527-510.

In 1877 there was dug up part of the cornice of the altar dedicated by Peisistratos, the eldest son of Hippias, who had served the office of archon during his father's rule : it contains the inscription cited by Thukydides, vi. 54. For facsimile see *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 41, no. 373 e; 'Αθήναιον, vi. p. 149; H. Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 83; and *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxiii (1898), pl. A. and p. 466. Comp. Roberts, 56; Preger, *Inscr. Gr. metr.* 71; E. Hoffmann, *Syll. Epigr.* 238; Michel, *Recueil*, 1019.

Μνῆμα τόδε ἦς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστ[ρατος Ἰππίου ἱ]υῖος  
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθ[ί]ου ἐν τεμένει.

The date falls between the death of Peisistratos the elder B. C. 527, and the expulsion of Hippias in 510. Thukydides says that in his time the inscription was 'dimly legible' (ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι): but the letters are to this day as fresh as when first cut, and are clearly no later restoration, so that he must refer to the fading of the colour with which the letters had been painted in. It has, it is true, been suggested that he uses the word ἀμυδρά in the sense of 'obsolete' (Szanto in *Wiener Studien*, iii (1881), p. 155). Yet it is doubtful whether the word can bear this sense. Its meaning is 'indistinct'; cp. its use by Archilochos (54) and Pausanias (x. 28. 1) of objects seen through water. In [Dem.] lix. *in Neaer.* 76 (ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι Ἀττικοῖς) it does not necessarily mean 'obsolete,' and in Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* i. 7 ('Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι . . . ἀμυδροῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκτετριμμένοις) it certainly means 'indistinct.' The former interpretation is therefore to be retained.

## 11 [20].

## Victory of Athens over the Boiotians and Chalkis, B. C. 506.

On the stylobate of the portico erected by the Athenians at Delphoi : B. Haussoullier, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 1881, p. 12; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 3 a (p. 169), *Imagines* (1898), p. 84; Köhler, *Rh. Mus.* xlvii. p. 1; Pomtow, *Rh. Mus.* xlix. p. 627; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles u. Athen.* ii. p. 287; Pomtow, *Beiträge zur Topogr. von Delphi*, pl. v. 9 and *Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 44; Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xx (1896), 615; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 3; Michel, *Recueil*, 1116.

Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέθεσαν τὴν στοὰν κ[α]λὴ τὰ ἴσταντα καὶ τὰ κρωτήρια  
ἑλόντες τῶν πο[λεμίων].

Pausanias connects the dedication with Phormion's successes in B. C. 429, x. 11. 5:  $\phi\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{\textit{A}}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\ \sigma\tau\omicron\alpha\n\ \alpha\pi\omicron\ \chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\n\ \grave{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\ \sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\n\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \alpha\pi\omicron\ \tau\epsilon\ \text{\textit{P}}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\eta\sigma\iota\omega\n\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\omicron\sigma\iota\ \text{\textit{P}}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\eta\sigma\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \eta\sigma\alpha\n\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{\textit{E}}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\iota. \ \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\lambda\omicron\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa.\tau.\lambda. [See Frazer's note *ad loc.*] But the archaic writing belongs to an earlier date, and the inscription is before the time of Marathon, although too much stress must not be laid on the fact that  $\oplus$  occurs here as opposed to  $\odot$  in no. 13, since the latter is a copy. We may therefore follow Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and Homolle with Dittenberger and Wilhelm (*Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxiii (1898), p. 478) in connecting the inscription with victories near and on the Euripos (Herodotos v. 73-78; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* ii<sup>2</sup>. p. 443), when the Athenians, although nothing is said of a sea-fight, seem to have captured some of the Chalkidian vessels. The same victory gave us the inscription which follows.$

## 12 [27].

## Victory of Athens over the Boiotians and Chalkis, B. C. 506.

(1) A block of Eleusinian stone, found in the ruins of a large building NE. of the Propylaea. Letters of the sixth century. Kirchhoff, *Sitzungsber. der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1887, p. 112; *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 78, 334 a; Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 83; Preger, *Inscr. Gr. Metr.* 72; E. Hoffmann, *Sylogge Epigr.* 249; Lolling, *Katálogos tou én \text{\textit{A}}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \text{\textit{E}}\pi\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \text{\textit{M}}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\omicron\n*, i. p. 65, no. 94. Broken on r., entire at top, joint on l.

ΠΙΝ:ΠΑΙΔΕ :ΤΟΝΗΓΓΡΟΣΔ
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(2) Two fragments of a base of Pentelic marble, discovered on the Akropolis. Letters of Periklean date. Lolling, *Katálogos*, i. p. 66, no. 95. (a) Broken all round; recently discovered. Dr. Wilhelm has kindly sent an impression. (b) Entire at top, broken r. and l. *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1869, pp. 409 foll.; *C. I. A.* i. 334; E. Hoffmann, *loc. cit.*

(a) / A N  
 S A N

(b)  $\overline{\text{E N A I O N E P A M /}}$   
 ΠΓΡΟΣΔΕ I ^

The former inscription comes from the original base which supported the bronze chariot dedicated out of the spoils of the victory over the Boiotians and Chalkidians about B. C. 506:

Herodotos v. 77 Καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν, ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἕστηκε πρῶτου ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ οἱ τάδε·

Ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες  
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου,  
δεσμῶ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβησαν ὕβριω  
τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

Comp. Pausan. i. 28. 2 καὶ ἄρμα κεῖται χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν δεκάτη καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. It appears from the inscription that on the original monument and in the text of Herodotos the two hexameters have changed places. The fact is that Herodotos saw, not the original monument, but its restoration, made about the middle of the fifth century; the second version belongs to this restored monument. To explain the change, it has been suggested that in its new position (on the left hand immediately on entering the Propylaea) the quadriga was far from the chains (which hung, as Herodotos says, ἀπτόν τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου, i. e. probably the old temple of Athena). Consequently the chains could hardly be mentioned in the first line. (See Kirchhoff, *Sitzungsber. der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1887, pp. 111 foll.; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* ii<sup>2</sup>. p. 443.) The restoration of the monument was probably made upon Perikles' conquest of Euboea in B. C. 445, thus connecting his own victory with the victory of sixty years before. In that year, 445, Perikles would leave no means untried to reanimate the failing hopes of his countrymen (Grote, pt. 2, ch. 45).

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## PART II

### FROM THE PERSIAN WAR TO THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

B. C. 490-431.

#### 13.

#### Treasury of the Athenians at Delphoi : between B. C. 490 and 480.

Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xx (1896), pp. 608 foll. ; Frazer on Pausanias, x. 11. 5 ; Pomtow, *Arch. Anz.* 1898, pp. 43 foll. ; Michel, *Recueil*, 1117. On various fragments found from 1893-1896, mostly among the ruins of the Treasury. The sequence of the fragments is not quite certain, but the following is suggested as most probable :—

Ἀθηναῖοι τ[ὼ]ι Ἀπόλλων[ι ἀπὸ Μήδ]ων ἀκ[ροθ]ίλια τῆς Μαραθ[ῶ]νι  
μ[άχης].

Pausanias (x. 11. 5) says: οἱ δὲ θησαυροὶ Θηβαίων ἀπὸ ἔργων τῶν ἐς πόλεμον καὶ Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ὡσαύτως . . . ἐπεὶ Θηβαίοις γε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀποβάδων ὁμοῦ Δάτιδι εἰσιν οἱ θησαυροί. The inscription is not the original one but an apparently faithful copy, made probably in the fourth century. A description of the remains of the Treasury may be read in Frazer's *Pausanias* (*loc. cit.*), where further references are given. At the same time it is doubtful whether this inscription refers to the Treasury itself, and not rather, in spite of the words of Pausanias, to spoils (ἀκροθίλια) from Marathon set up on bases in front of the Treasury.

## 14.

## Ostracism at Athens, B. C. 487-483.

Four potsherds. See R. Zahn, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxii (1897), pp. 345 foll.

(1) From the 'Persian deposit' east of the Parthenon. Benndorf, *Griech. u. Sicil. Vasenbilder*, pl. 29. 10, p. 50; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 192 (no. 569); Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 84; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* <sup>2</sup>, 4.

Μεγακλῆς ἵ[Ἰππο]κράτους Ἀλω[π]εκῆθε.

This Megakles was the brother of Agariste and uncle of Perikles. His ostracism (as one of the 'tyrannizing' party) took place in B. C. 487-486 (Arist. 'Ath. Pol. 22), and must be distinguished from that of Megakles, son of Kleisthenes, and maternal grandfather of Alkibiades (Lysias, xiv. 39; Andokides, iv. 34); unless indeed we suppose that they are the same person, and that Isokrates (xvi. 26) is wrong in calling Alkibiades' grandfather the son of Kleisthenes. The potsherd has been cut to a circular shape, and the inscription incised on it in a spiral beginning at the edge and working to the centre.

(2) From the same place as no. 1. Studniczka, *Arch. Jahrb.* ii (1887), p. 161; *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 192 (no. 570); Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 84; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* <sup>2</sup>, 5.

Χσάνθιππος  
Ἀρρίφρονος.

(3) Found in 1891 in the rubbish from some old graves on the Peiraieus road. Lolling, *Δελτίον ἀρχ.* 1891, p. 79; *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 193 (no. 571); Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 84. The incision of the second name was not completed.

Χσάνθιππος  
Ἀρρίφ[ρ - -

Xanthippos, son of Arriphron, was the father of Perikles, and the leader of the constitutional party, as opposed to the progressive democrats. His ostracism fell in B. C. 485-484 (Aristot. *loc. cit.*).

(4) Found in excavating to the north-west of the Akropolis in January, 1897. R. Zahn, *l. c.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* <sup>2</sup>, 6.

Θεμισθοκλῆς  
Φρεάρριος[s].

This last, which bears the name of the great Themistokles, may belong to the year B. C. 484-483, when Aristeides received the greater number of ostraka; or it may have been used on the occasion, some ten years later, when Themistokles himself was the victim.

Notice the variety of ways in which the persons are indicated (own name + father's name + demotikon, own name + father's name, own name + demotikon). The official method, since the reform of Kleisthenes, was to give the demotikon, but on these potsherds incised by individual voters it is natural to find variety. Cp. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristot. u. Athen*, ii. pp. 169 foll.

## 15 [18].

**The Sicilian cities: Kamarina, shortly before B. C. 484.**

A statue-base discovered at Olympia, 1876. E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, p. 48; cp. 1878, p. 181; 1879, p. 43; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 744; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xiii. p. 388; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 95; *Imagines* (1898), p. 32; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Olympia-Inscr.* 266; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 309.

Πραξιτέλης ἀνέθηκε Συρακόσιος τόδ' ἄγαλμα  
καὶ Καμαριναῖος· πρόσθα (δ) ἐ Μαντινέαι  
Κρίνιος υἱὸς ἔναιεν ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι πολυμήλω[ι]  
ἔσλὸς ἑὼν, καὶ Φοι μνάμα τόδ' ἔστ' ἀρετᾶς.

The inscription stands on a base which supported two statues or groups, one by Athanodoros and Asopodoros, the other by Atotos and Argeiadas; both were dedicated by Praxiteles. The position in which the base was found shows that the dedication existed before the temple of Zeus was built (completed about B. C. 458).

We may see in Praxiteles a noble Arkadian, who, not satisfied with the obscure career open to him in his native country, sought fame and fortune in foreign lands. Like Phormis of Mainalos (*Pausan.* v. 27. 1) and Agesias of Stymphalos (*Pindar, Olymp.* 6), so Praxiteles doubtless had been at Syrakuse in the service of the tyrants. At the time of the dedication he was a citizen of two cities, Kamarina and Syrakuse (a possibility in Greek, though not in Roman law).

The inscription must therefore belong to some time before B. C. 484, in which year Gelon destroyed Kamarina, transferring its inhabitants to Syrakuse. For between B. C. 461 (the date of the restoration of Kamarina) and the beginning of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, there is barely time for the erection of these dedications.

## 16.

**Gelon's Dedication at Delphoi, B. C. 479.**

On a base which formerly supported a tripod at the summit of the Sacred Way at Delphoi. Perdrizet, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xx (1896), pp. 654 foll. ; cp. *Rev. d. Ét. anc.* 1900, p. 268 ; Th. Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xxi (1897), pp. 588 foll. ; *Mélanges Weil* (1898), pp. 207 foll. ; U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Gött. Gel. Nachrichten*, 1897, p. 313 ; F. Blass, *Bacchylidis carmina*, ed. 2 praef. p. lvi ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 910 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 1119.

Γέλων ὁ Δεινομέν[εος]  
ἀνέθηκε τῶπόλλωνι  
Συρακόσιος.  
Τὸν τρίποδα καὶ τὴν Νίκην εἰργάσατο  
Βίων Διοδώρου υἱὸς Μιλήσιος.

A second mutilated inscription, on a similar base, is restored by Homolle (*ibid.*) as follows:—

[†Ιάρων ἑο Δεινομέ]νεος ἀνέθηκε [†]ε[λ-  
.... τάλαντα . . . .] ἑπτὰ μναί.

Finally, two other similar bases, but wanting inscriptions and slightly smaller, have been found near the two described.

These are the bases of the four golden tripods dedicated by Gelon, Hieron, Polyzelos and Thrasybulos, out of the Karthaginian spoils, of which a record is given by various writers. Diodoros (xi. 26. 7) states merely that Gelon, after the victory of Himera, dedicated a golden tripod; but Athenaios (vi. 231 F) quotes Phainias of Eresos and Theopompos as saying that Gelon and Hieron adorned the Pythian shrine, each of them dedicating a tripod and a Nike of gold. The Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 155, quotes the epigram (attributed in the *Anthology*, vi. 214, to Simonides) which was inscribed on the dedication:—



Φημί Γέλων', 'Ιέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,  
 παῖδας Δεινομένους, τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι,  
 βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη, πολλὴν δὲ παρασχέιν  
 σύμμαχον Ἑλλησιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

The last two lines are omitted by the *Anthology* and by Suidas (s. v. Δαρετίου), and replaced by

ἕξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων  
 Δαμαρετίου χρυσοῦ, τᾶς δεκάτας δεκάταν.

Δαμαρετίου is Bentley's emendation of Δαρετίου. It is an allusion to Damarete, Gelon's wife, who interceded for the conquered Karthaginians and was rewarded by them with a gold crown worth a hundred talents (Diodoros, xi. 26. 3). But both of the alternative second couplets have the appearance of being later additions, although that given by the Scholiast has more to recommend it than the version of Suidas and the *Anthology*. The fine verses of Bacchylides (iii. 17 foll.) probably refer to Hieron's gift:—

λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσοῦς  
 ὑψιδαιδάλτων τριπόδων σταθέντων  
 πάροιθε ναοῦ, τόθι μέγι[στ]ον ἄλσος  
 Φ[οί]βου παρὰ Κασταλία[s ῥε]έθροις  
 Δελφοὶ διέπουσᾶ

It will be noticed here that the poet speaks of *τριπόδων*; the plural may be a mere poetic licence, or it may point to the dedication of more than one tripod by Hieron in honour of more than one Pythian victory; or, again, Bacchylides may be giving the credit of all four dedications to Hieron. Bion the Milesian, as Perdrizet has pointed out (*loc. cit.*), is known from Polemon the *σθηλοκόπας* (Diog. Laert. iv. 58) and is to be distinguished from the native of Klazomenai or Chios, who lived half a century earlier.

## 17 [11].

**Epitaph upon the Megarians who fell in the Persian War,  
 at Artemision, Mykale, Salamis, Plataiai:  
 between B. C. 478–467.**

The inscription was first edited by Böckh, *C. I. G.* 1051, from a copy by Fourmont; see also his *Kleine Schriften*, iv. p. 125; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 461;

Dittenberger, *C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 53. It was lost sight of since Fourmont's time, but rediscovered by Wilhelm in 1898. We give it from his copy in *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. pp. 238 foll. The public tomb in honour of the Megarian heroes of the Persian war is mentioned by Pausanias, i. 43. 3: *Εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει· καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς ἀποθανούσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ κ.τ.λ.* Our inscription however is not the original, but a restoration (as the heading declares) by Helladios the high-priest, probably as late as the fourth century A. D. Accordingly we find *ι* for *ει*, *ει* for *ι*, *ε* for *αι*, *αι* for *ε*, *οι* for *υ*.

*Heading drawn up by Helladios.*

Τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων κὲ κειμένω[v] | ἐνταῦθα ἡρώων, ἀπολόμενον δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ, Ἑλλάδιος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπιγρ[α]φήναι ἐποίησεν ἰς τειμῆν τῶν κειμένων καὶ τῆς πόλεως. Σιμωνίδης | ἐποίηε.

*Epigram.*

- 5 Ἑλλάδι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐλεύθερον ἄμαρ ἀέξιν  
 ἰέμενοι θανάτου μοῖραν <ι> ἐδεξάμεθα·  
 τοὶ μὲν ὑπ' Εὐβοία καὶ <sup>1</sup> Παλίῳ, ἔνθα καλεῖτε  
 ἀγνᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος τοξοφόρου τέμενος,  
 τοὶ δ' ἐν ὄρι Μοικάλας, τοὶ δ' ἐνπροσθε Σαλαμείνος,  
 10 [νηῶν Φοινιστῶν ἐξολέσαντες Ἀρη],  
 τοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν παιδίῳ Βοιωτίῳ, οἷτινες ἔτλαν  
 χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἵππομάχους ἰένε·  
 ἄστοι δὲ ἄμμι τόδε [Μεγαρῆς?] γέρας ὀμφαλῷ ἀμφίς  
 . Νεισέων ἔπορον λαοδόκων ἀγορῆ.

*Note by Helladios.*

15 Μέχρις ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἡ πόλις ταῦρον ἐνάγιζεν.

ll. 3, 4. This is the only authority for the ascription of this epigram to Simonides. Pausanias, as Wilhelm notes, does not actually mention the epitaph which, with a list of names, doubtless stood on the monument. Possibly it was even then obliterated by time. The epigram no doubt goes back, in origin, to the time of the erection of the monument, but in all probability all but the first couplet is an addition, as is the case with many 'Simonidean' epigrams. l. 7. Pelion on the north and Euboeia on the south define the scene of the battle of Artemision. l. 10. The restoration is purely conjectural. Dr. Wilhelm (*Oesterr. Jahreshfte*, iii. p. 98,

<sup>1</sup> Corrected out of κὲ.

note 6) has argued against the restoration; but in a later communication he recognizes that a line calling special attention to the sea-fights is in place; also that, if the omission of the pentameter produces a symmetrical arrangement, l. 9 (which describes two battles) being preceded and followed by two couplets (each describing one battle), yet that symmetry is merely formal, since the first three elements are sea-fights, the fourth a land-fight. We must therefore suppose that Helladios skipped a line in making his copy. l. 12. Herodotos (ix. 69) says that Theban troopers routed the Megarians and killed 600 of them. l. 13. The restoration is Kaibel's. But this as well as all other emendations leave the couplet unsatisfactory, and the Ionicism ἀγορή is surprising. l. 15. On the neglect of the augment in ἐναγίζεν see Jannaris, *Hist. Gk. Grammar*, 717 foll. Note that ἐναγίζειν is used of offerings to underworld deities and 'heroes,' θύειν of sacrifices to celestials.

## 18.

**Epitaph for Korinthians slain at Salamis, B. C. 478-468.**

On a slab found originally at Ampelakion (Ambelaki) on the site of the old cemetery of the city of Salamis, then built into a house, and now in the National Museum, Athens. Dragoumis, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxii (1897), pp. 52 foll. pl. ix; U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1897, 306; Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. pp. 227 foll.

[ᾠ ξεῖνε, εὐνδρ]όν ποκ' ἐναλομες ἄστν Κορίνθου  
[Νῦν δ' ἄμὲ Αἴα]ντος [νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμῖς].

Besides the inscription itself, there are other meaningless letters which have been scratched on the stone by some idle hand. The inscription is in the Korinthian alphabet. The Athenians allowed the Korinthians to bury their slain ἐν Σαλαμῖνι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν and place this epitaph on their tomb (Plutarch, *de Herod. Malign.* 39, p. 870 E). By Pseudo-Dio Chrysostom [*Or.* 37 (= 20 v. Arn.) 18] and in the *Anthology* (App. ii. 4) the lines are attributed to Simonides. All the literary authorities, including Plutarch (*loc. cit.*), add a second couplet:—

ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἐλόντες  
καὶ Μήδους, ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα,

or the like. Of this there is no trace remaining on the stone, although there is no lack of space for it below the extant lines. The couplet for various reasons (e.g. the scansion Πέρσας, and the distinction between Medes and Persians) is undoubtedly of a much later date. All doubts, however, as to the age of the first couplet of the epigram have been set at rest by the discovery of the inscription, although it does not of course follow that Simonides was the author of it. At Corinth itself there was a cenotaph of the Corinthians who were buried at Salamis.

## 19 [12].

**Inscription on the bronze stand of three intertwined serpents, which supported the gold tripod dedicated at Delphoi by the Greeks after Plataiai: about B. C. 475.**

The golden portion was destroyed by the Phokians in the Sacred War (Paus. x. 13. 5); but the bronze serpent-pillar remained *in situ*, until Constantine removed it to his new capital, where it still remains. The base is supposed to have been found at Delphoi (Frazer, note on Pausanias, x. 13. 9). One of the serpent-heads still exists in the armoury of St. Irene. A full account of the monument in Dethier and Mordtmann's *Epigraphik von Byzantion* (Wien, 1864), pp. 3 foll. Cp. Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* ch. xvii. The text is given from Fabricius, *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* i. pp. 176 foll. See also Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 153; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 70; *Imagines* (1898), p. 28; Bauer, *Wiener Studien*, 1887, p. 223; A. v. Domaszewski in *Neue Heidelb. Jahrb.* i (1891), p. 181; Swoboda, *Arch.-Ep. Mitth.* xx. pp. 130 foll.; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 4406; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 7; R. von Scala, *Staatsverträge*, i. p. 34, no. 46; Michel, *Recueil*, 1118.

[T]ο[ἰδε τὸν] 13th coil of serpents.  
 πόλεμον [ἐ]-  
 πολ[ε]μεον

Λα[κ]ε[δαιμόνιοι] 12th coil.  
 5 Ἀθαναῖοι  
 Κορ[ι]νθιοι

Τεγεᾶ[ται] 11th coil.  
 Σικυών[ιοι]  
 Αἰγινᾶται

10	Μεγαρήs 'Επιδαύριοι 'Ερχομένοι	10th coil.
	Φλειάσιοι Τροζάνιοι	9th coil.
15	'Ερμιονήs Τιρύνθιοι Πλαταιήs Θεσπιήs	8th coil.
	Μυκανήs	7th coil.
20	Κείοι Μάλιοι Τήνιοι	
	Νάξιοι 'Ερετριήs	6th coil.
25	Χαλκιδήs Στυρής Φαλείοι Ποτειδαιᾶται	5th coil.
	Λενκάδιοι	4th coil.
30	Φανακτοριήs Κύθνιοι Σίφνιοι	
	'Αμπρακιῶται Λεπρεᾶται.	3rd coil.

The surface of the 13th coil has been flattened back from its due curve to receive the present inscription: here therefore it is supposed by some that Pausanias had inscribed his arrogant epigram:

'Ελλάνων ἀρχαγὸs ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσα Μήδων  
Πανσανίας Φοίβῳ μνᾶμ' ἀνέθηκα τόδε.

(So in *Anthol.* i. 133. xliii; though Thukydidēs, i. 132, Plutarch, *de Herod. Malig. fin.*, Suidas, s.v. Πανσανίας, and [Demosthenes], *In Neaer.* 97, give it in κοινή, and in the 3rd person, which is less characteristic.) More probably, however,

this epigram was inscribed on the stone pedestal of the column. On some part of the dedication probably stood the couplet quoted by Diodoros, xi. 33. 2:

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτῆρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν  
δουλοσύνης στυγερᾶς ῥυσάμενοι πόλιας.

This couplet may have taken the place of the erased one. At the ends of the 10th, 9th, 7th coils are what seem like remains of letters; but no names can be deciphered, and the marks are perhaps accidental. Omitting these, we get 31 names, including all the 27 names given by Pausanias, v. 23, as inscribed upon the corresponding monument at Olympia, with the addition of 4 omitted by him, viz. Θεσπιῆς, Ἐρετριῆς, Λευκάδιοι, Σίφνιοι (for these see Herod. vii. 202, 222, 226; ix. 28; viii. 46, 48). Observe that there is a uniform arrangement of the names, 3 on each coil; except on the 4th and 7th. Τήνιοι is inscribed more deeply than the rest and in Ionic, having probably been added afterwards by the Tenians themselves (by permission of Sparta) on account of their one ship's adventure (Herod. viii. 82); on the 4th Σίφνιοι was similarly inserted. The writing of both these names is somewhat irregular. Bauer holds that the right to have names inscribed on this monument was earned not by fighting in any battle, but by contributing to the cost of the monument. That is why the list on the Olympian monument was different; and that also would explain the omission of Pale, Seriphos, and Kroton, and the inclusion of Elis. Pausanias, it would seem, wrongly refers this, as well as the Olympian monument, to the battle of Plataiai. The suggestion is attractive. But we must remember that, in Thukydides' phrase *δοσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα*, the emphasis, according to Greek usage, lies on the participle rather than on the finite verb; and moreover the heading of the inscription is adverse to the theory. Domaszewski's explanation of the list as the official list of the Greek allies, arranged in three groups (1. Tegea to Tiryns, *Peloponnesian allies*; 2. Plataiai to Elis, *Athenian allies*; 3. Potidaia to Ambrakia, *Korinthian colonies*), is also untenable. Both Bauer's and Domaszewski's theories have been carefully discussed by Swoboda (pp. 132

fol.). We may agree with him that the order was probably on the whole decided by the political importance and services of the states; the generals who drew up the list would thus have had considerable freedom of choice. The attempt to arrange the names roughly in geographical groups has produced the appearance of a political grouping.

## 20.

## Letter of Dareios: early Fifth Century.

On a marble block now in the Louvre. A copy, made in the first half of the second century of our era, of the original Ionic translation of Dareios' letter. Cousin and G. Deschamps, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xiii (1889), p. 529; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 2; Michel, *Recueil*, 32; O. Kern, *Inschr. von Magnesia*, p. 102. Comp. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 1896, p. 643; E. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums* (1896), p. 19.

Βασιλεὺς [β]ασιλέ-  
ων Δαρείος ὁ Ὑσ-  
τάσπεω Γαδάται  
δούλωι τάδε λέγε[ι].  
5 πυνθάνομαί σε τῶν  
ἐμῶν ἐπιταγμάτων  
οὐ κατὰ πάντα πει-  
θαρχεῖν· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ [ρ  
τ]ῆν ἐμῆν ἐκπονεῖς  
10 [γ]ῆν, τοὺς πέραν Εὐ-  
φράτου καρποὺς ἐπ(ι)  
τὰ κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας μέ-  
[ρ]η καταφυτεύων, ἐπαι-  
[ν]ῶ σὴν πρόθεσιν καὶ  
15 [δ]ιὰ ταῦτά σοι κείσεται  
μεγάλη χάρις ἐμ βασι-  
λέως οἴκωι· ὅτι δὲ τῆν  
ὑπὲρ θεῶν μου διάθε-  
σιν ἀφανίζεις, δώσω  
20 σοὶ μὴ μεταβαλομένωι  
πεῖραν ἡδίκη[μέ]νον θυ-  
μοῦ· φυτουργοὺς γὰρ  
[ι]εροὺς Ἀπόλλωνος φό-

ρου ἔπρασσεσ καὶ χῶραν  
 25 [σ]καπανεύων βέβηλον ἐπ[έ]-  
 τασσεσ, ἀγνοῶν ἐμῶν  
 προγόνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν  
 [ν]οῦν, ὃσ Πέρσαισ εἶπε  
 [πᾶσ]αν ἀτρέκε[ι]αν καὶ . . .

- - -

Gadates seems to have been satrap of Western Asia Minor in the reign of Dareios (B. C. 521-486), and possibly had his head-quarters at Magnesia on the Maiandros, near which, on the road to Tralleis, the stone was found. He is commended for his experiments in the acclimatization of crops or fruit-trees; similarly the Persian king transplanted to Damascus the vines which produced the wine for the royal table (Athen. i. 28 d). In the course of these experiments, however, he has been guilty of extortion from the gardeners attached to the shrine of Apollo, and of imposing profane duties on them. *πέραν Εὐφράτου* means from the Persian province of Syria. The Apollo whose property Gadates has thereby violated is probably the god of Magnesia itself. Certain traces of the original Ionic dialect of this document are preserved in the copy: e. g. *πειθαρχεῖν* with genitive, and the last phrase. For the phraseology, cp. especially Thuk. i. 129.

## 21 [14].

### Rise of Athens : Themistoklean walls, B. C. 478.

A base of a funeral monument of white marble, which once had above it a figure in relief (comp. the Aristion gravestone, Conze, *Att. Grabreliefs*, Taf. ii) or perhaps a recumbent lion: found in June 1873, in the NE. of the city, near the royal stables, among the massive remains of the ancient walls. Lüders in *Hermes*, vol. vii. p. 258; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 483; Löscheke, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* iv (1879), p. 301; Löwy, *Inscr. Gr. Bildhauer*, 14. Traces of the original red colouring of the letters remain.

Ἀντιδότου  
 Καλλωνίδης ἐποίει  
 Ἰο Δειλίου.

This may serve to verify the words of Thukydidēs (i. 93): *τούτῃ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ*



χρόνῳ· καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνεργασμένων ἔστιν ἡ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοί ποτε προσέφερον, πολλαὶ τε στῆλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. For the course of the walls see among others E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, i. p. 60; and *Stadtgesch. von Athen*, pp. 104 foll.; Curt Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen im Altertum*, ii. 197 foll.

## 22 [15].

## The Sicilian cities—Hieron, B. C. 474.

On a bronze helmet now in the British Museum (Walters, *Catal. of Bronzes*, 250), discovered at Olympia in 1817 by Mr. Cartwright. Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 510; *Imagines* (1898), 75; Dittenberger and Purgold, *Olympia-Inscr.* 249; Blass, *Gr. Dialékt-Inscr.* 3228; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 310; Roberts, 111; Michel, *Recueil*, 1084.

Ἰάρων ὁ Δειωμένεος  
καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι  
τῶι Δι Τυράν' ἀπὸ Κύμας.

From the Etruscan spoils (τὰ Τύρρανα) dedicated by Hieron (Ἰάρων, *Dorice*) to Zeus at Olympia, after his victory over the Etruscans in the great sea-fight before Kyme, recorded by Diod. xi. 51, and celebrated by Pindar, *Pyth.* 1. The Tyrrhenum Mare owed its name to this early θαλαττοκρατία of the Etruscans. The inscription of Hieron, the professed 'tyrant,' is more modest than that of Pausanias upon the Plataian tripod (see above, p. 23). The whole inscription is certainly metrical, but the precise nature of the scansion is not clear.

## 23 [16].

## The Ionians after Mykale: Teos, about B. C. 470.

One of several στῆλαι containing imprecations upon traitors and enemies of the state. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 3044. Lines 1-12 were re-read by Le Bas at Teos, the rest is now lost; *Voyage Arch.* pt. v. no. 59; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 497; *Imagines* (1898), p. 50; Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* iii. p. 49, no. 105; Roberts, 142; Cauet<sup>2</sup>, 480; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 156; Michel, *Recueil*, 1318 (with restorations of B. ll. 8-18 by Haussoullier). Kirchhoff (*Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 13) places the date soon after Mykale.

We know that the greater part of the population of Teos had sought a new home at Abdera, rather than submit to the Persian yoke after the fall of Lydia (Herod. i. 168; Strabo, 644). After

Mykale, no doubt, a good many returned home (Strabo, *ibid.*) to Teos; and their arrival would not tend to allay the disturbances which may well have arisen within the city upon the sudden overthrow of the Persian dominion. That there were disorders is shown by the appointment of an *αισυμνήτης*, an extraordinary magistrate resembling the Roman *dictator* (Dionys. Hal. v. 73), whose office is defined by Aristotle as *αἵρετὴ τυραννίς* (Pol. iii. 9. 5), during which the ordinary annual magistrates (*τιμοῦχοι*) were suspended. At the same time, the phrase *ὅστις τοῦ λοιποῦ αἰσυμνῶν* seems to point to the continuance of this office for some time, although it is hardly necessary to suppose that the *αἰσυμνήτης* was an ordinary magistrate at Teos. By the *εὔθυνος* also we should understand an extraordinary magistrate, perhaps appointed to inquire into the management of public moneys and superior to the ordinary *εὔθυνοι* of the place (cf. *C. I. G.* 3059). The mention of piracy shows that the Athenian ascendancy had not yet been fully established in the Aegean: by the *βάρβαροι* we understand the Persians, whose yoke had just been thrown off. Whatever was the nature of the disturbances at Teos, at all events, upon the restoration of order, the government enjoins these public curses, part only of which remains. On the employment of public imprecations by the Greeks see Schömann's *Griechische Alterthümer*, ii. p. 254; Ziebarth in *Hermes*, xxx (1895), pp. 57 foll., and compare the cursings uttered at Athens by the archon every year, and by the herald at the opening of every *ἐκκλησία* (Plut. *Solon*, 24; Isokr. *Paneg.* § 157).

## A.

§ 1. (*Imprecation against compounders of poisons.*)

“Ὅστις φάρμακα δηλητη-  
 ρια ποιοῖ ἐπὶ Τηίοισι-  
 ν, τὸ ξυνὸν ἢ ἐπ’ ἰδιώτηι, κ-  
 εῖνον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ α-  
 5 ὑτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνου.

§ 2. (*Against those who interfere with the importation of corn,*  
 cf. Plut. *Sol.* 24.)

“Ὅστις ἐς γῆν τὴν Τηίην κ-  
 ωλύοι σῖτον ἐσάγεσθαι

ἢ τέχνηι ἢ μηχανῆι ἢ κατ-  
 à θάλασσαν ἢ κατ' ἠπειρο- •  
 10 ν, ἢ ἐσαχθέντα ἀνωθεοίη, κείν-  
 ον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτ-  
 ὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνου.

B.

- - -

- - -

§ 3. (*Against those who are disobedient to the magistrates.*)

Ὅστις Τητῶν εἰς θύνας  
 ἢ αἰσυ[μ]νήτηι . . . . ηι ἢ  
 5 ἐπανίσταιτο [τῶ]ι αἰ[συμ]-  
 νήτηι, ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ  
 αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείν-  
 ου.

§ 4. (*Against magistrates guilty of neglect of their duty or of treasonable practices.*)

Ὅστις τοῦ λοιποῦ αἰσυμ-  
 νῶ[ν] ἐν Τέωι ἢ γῆι τῆι Τη-  
 10 τῆι - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 ὡς (*vel* - - *ως*) προδο - - τῆ[ν] πό-  
 λ[ιν] καὶ γῆν] τὴν Τητῶ-  
 ων, ἢ τοῦ[ς] ἀνδρας [ἐν ν]-  
 15 ἦσωι ἢ θα[λάσσηι ἢ] τοῦ[ς]  
 μετε[λθόντας] εἰ[π']  
 ἀρ[ωγ]ῆι περὶ Τητῶν τοῦ  
 ξυνοῦ προδο[ίη, ἢ κιζα]-  
 λλεύοι, ἢ κιζάλλας ὑπο-  
 20 δέχοιτο, ἢ λητίζοιτο, ἢ λ-  
 ηῖστὰς ὑποδέχοιτο εἰ-  
 δῶς ἐκ γῆς τῆς Τητῆς ἢ [θ]-  
 ἀλά[τ]ης φέροντας, ἢ [τι κ]-  
 ακὸν βουλευοὶ περὶ Τητῆ-  
 25 ων τοῦ ξυνοῦ εἰδῶς ἢ π[ρὸς]  
 Ἑλληνας ἢ πρὸς βαρβάρους,  
 ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐ-  
 τὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνου.

§ 5. (*Against the magistrates who neglect to pronounce the  
‘ imprecations.’*)

Οἵτινες τιμουχέοντες  
30 τὴν ἐπαρῆν μὴ ποιήσῃα-  
ν ἐπὶ δυνάμει, καθημέν-  
ου τῶ γῶνος Ἀνθεστηρίο-  
ισιν καὶ Ἡρακλείοισιν  
καὶ Δίοισιν, ἐν τῇ παρῆ-  
35 ι ἔχῃσθαι.

§ 6. (*Against those who damage the stelæ.*)

Ὅς ἂν τὰ στήλ-  
ας ἐν ἡῖσις ἦ παρῆ γέγρα-  
πται ἢ κατάξει ἢ φοι-  
ικήια ἐκκόψει) ἢ ἀφανέ-  
ας ποιήσει, κείνον ἀπόλ-  
40 λυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γ-  
ένος.

In B. ll. 17, 18 Böckh has περιγ[ενομένους] λοι[μ]οῦ προδο[ίη], thinking that the crime is the desertion of plague-stricken persons who have been landed somewhere away from the city, and so survived. *κιζάλλης* appears to be a ‘brigand.’ For the form *θαλά[τ]ης* (B. l. 23) = *θαλάσσης* (Röhl’s conjecture), see no. 27, p. 39; but it is curious that it should be used in such a purely Greek word. *κατάξει* (B. l. 37), &c. are Ionic conjunctives.

## 24 [17].

### Revolt of the Helots : B. C. 464.

On the round base of the statue of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias, v. 24. 3 (see Frazer *ad loc.*). Discovered in the excavations : *Ausgrab. zu Olympia*, pl. xxxii. fig. 1; E. Curtius in *Arch. Zeit.* (1877), p. 49; Dittenberger and Purgold, *Olympia-Inscr.* 252; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 743; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 151; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 75; *Imagines* (1898), p. 29; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 4405; E. Hoffmann, *Sylogé Epigr.* 311.

[Δέξ]ο Φάν[αξ] Κρονίδα [Ζ]εῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄ[γ]αλμα  
ἱλήφω[ι θυ]μῶι τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίο[ις].

Pausanias (*loc. cit.*) enables us to restore the inscription :  
τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ μεγάλου Zeús ἵπρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου,

μέγεθος μὲν δυνάδεκα ποδῶν, ἀνάθημα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων, ἡνίκα ἀποστᾶσι Μεσσηνίοις δεύτερα τότε ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησαν. ἔπεισι δὲ καὶ ἐλεγείον ἐπ' αὐτῷ·

Δέξο ἄναξ Κρονίδα Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄγαλμα  
 ἰλάφ θυμῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

In the actual inscription the *s* of the article is assimilated to the *Λ* of the following word, and, in accordance with the tendency to represent doubled letters by single ones, is not separately expressed.

Pausanias' words may refer to the 'second revolt' mentioned by Thuk. i. 101-103, or to the second Messenian War, of the seventh century. But, although the latter is perhaps more in accordance with the Greek (*δεύτερα* being taken with the following words), our inscription cannot be so early. It has indeed been ascribed to the sixth century by some authorities, but that does not help us out of the difficulty with regard to Pausanias. That writer's sense of style is of course not acute, and we may therefore take him to refer to the second revolt; indeed the lettering of the inscription seems more appropriate to this time than to an earlier date. The statue was probably dedicated at the beginning of the revolt (Curtius compares the Trojan *peplos*, *Il.* vi. 92) to secure the favour of Zeus to the Spartan side.

## 25 [63].

### Colonists from Opuntian Lokris at Naupaktos: about B. C. 460 (?).

A bronze tablet from *Galaxidi* (Oiantheia), formerly in the Woodhouse Collection, now in the British Museum (Walters, *B. M. Catal. of Bronzes*, no. 262). See W. Vischer, *Rhein. Mus.* (1871), pp. 39 foll.; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 321; *Imagines* (1898), p. 22; Cauet, 229; Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 1478; Roberts, 231; Daresté, &c., *Inscr. Jurid. gr.* pp. 180 foll.; Michel, *Recueil*, 285; Ed. Meyer, *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.* (1892), pp. 291 foll.; Meister, *Ber. d. sächs. Akad.* 1895, pp. 272 foll.; Dittenberger, *C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.* iii. no. 334. Comp. A. Riedenauer, *Hermes*, vii. 111; Bréal, *Rev. Arch.* 1876, p. 115; Curtius, *Hermes*, x (1876), pp. 237 foll. = *Ges. Abh.* i. p. 204; Kirchhoff, *Studien* 4, p. 146; Szanto, *Gr. Bürgerrecht*, p. 62; Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1898, pp. 862 foll. We have been unable to see Girard, *de Locr. Opunt.* (1881), pp. 17 foll. and O. A. Danielsson's article in *Eranos*, iii (1898-9), pp. 49 foll.

*Obverse side.* Ἐν Ναύπακτον : κα' τῶνδε : ἄ'πιΦοικία : Λο-  
 ρρόν τῶν : ἴ'Υποκναμιδίων : ἐπ|εί κα Ναυπάκτιος : γένηται :

Ναυπάκτιον ἐόντα : ὅπω ξένον : ὅσια λανχάν|ειν : καὶ θύειν :  
 ἐξείμεν : ἐπιτυχόντα, : αἶ κα δειληται : αἶ κα δειληται, : θύειν  
 καὶ λανχάνειν, : κῆ δάμω κῆ ροιάνων : αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος :  
 5 καταίφεί. : τέλος τοῖς : ἐπιφοίρους Λοφρῶν : τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων :  
 μὴ φάρειν : ἐν Λοφροῖς τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίους, : φρήν κ' αὐ τις  
 Λοφρὸς γένηται τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων. : αἶ | δειλητ' ἀνωρεῖν,  
 καταλείπων : τὰ ἐν τῇ ἰστίαι παῖδα ἡβατὰν ἢ ἄδελφον, : ἐξ-  
 εἶμεν ἄνευ ἐνετηρίων. : αἶ κα ἔνπ' ἀνάγκας ἀπελάωνται : ἔ' Ναυ-  
 πάκτω : Λοφροῖ τοῖ Ὑποκναμιδιοι, : ἐξείμεν ἀνωρεῖν : ὅπω  
 10 φέκαστος ἦν, ἄνευ ἐ|νετηρίων : τέλος μὴ φάρειν μηδέν, : ὅ τι  
 μὴ (μ)ετὰ Λοφρῶν τῶν Φεσπαρίων. :

A. : Ἐυροφρον τοῖς ἐπιφοίροις ἐν Ναύπακτον : μὴ ποστᾶμεν :  
 ἀ(π' Ὀ)ποντίων | τέ(χ)ναι καὶ μαχαναῖ : μηδεμῖαι : φερόντας  
 τὸν ὄρφρον ἐξείμεν, : αἶ κα δειλῶνται, : ἐπάγειν μετὰ τριά-  
 ροντα φέτα : ἀπὸ τῷ ὄρφρω ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας Ὀ|ποντίους : Ναυ-  
 πακτίων, καὶ Ναυπακτίους Ὀποντίους. :

15 B. : Ὅσσις κα λιποτελέη||ι ἐγ Ναυπάκτω : τῶν ἐπιφοίρων, :  
 ἀπὸ Λοφρῶν εἶμεν, : ἔντε κ' ἀποτείσηι : τὰ νό|μια Ναυπακτίους. :

Γ. : Αἶ κα μὴ γένος ἐν τῇ ἰστίαι : ἦι, ἢ ἡ χεπέμων : τῶν ἐπι-  
 φοίρων : ἦι ἐν Ναυπάκτω, Λοφρῶν : τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων : τὸν  
 ἐπάνχισ|τον : κρατεῖν, Λοφρῶν ὅπω κ' ἦι, : αὐτὸν ἰόντα, αἶ κ'  
 ἀνῆρ ἦι ἢ παῖς, : τριῶν μ|ηνῶν : αἶ δὲ μῆ, τοῖς Ναυπακτίους  
 νομίους χρήσται. :

20 Δ. : Ἐ' Ναυπάκτω ἀνωρέ||οντα : ἐν Λοφροῖς τοῖς Ὑποκναμι-  
 δίοις : ἐν Ναυπάκτω : καρῦξαι ἐν τὰ|γοραῖ : κῆν Λοφροῖς :  
 τοῖς) Ὑποκναμιδίοις : ἐν τῇ πόλι, ὦ κ' ἦι, : καρῦξαι ἐν |  
 τὰγοραῖ. :

E. : Περφοθαριᾶν : καὶ Μυσαχέων, : ἐπεὶ κα Ναυπάκτι(ο)ς :  
 γένητα|ι : αὐτός, καὶ τὰ χρήματα : τῆν Ναυπάκτω : τοῖς ἐν  
 Ναυπάκτω χρήσται, : | τὰ δ' ἐν Λοφροῖς τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοις :  
 25 χρήματα τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδί||οις : | [Reverse side] νομίους χρή-  
 σται, : ὅπως ἂ πόλις φεκάστων νομίζει : Λοφρῶν τῶν Ὑποκν-  
 αμιδίων. : αἶ τις ἔνπὸ τῶν νομίων τῶν ἐπιφοίρων : ἀνωρέηι  
 Περφοθαριᾶ|ν καὶ Μυσαχέων, : τοῖς αὐτῶν νομίους : χρήσται :  
 κατὰ πόλιν φεκάστους. : |

F. : Αἶ κ' ἀδελφοὶ ἔωντι : τῷ ἔν Ναύπακτον Φοικέοντος, :  
 30 ὅπως καὶ Λοφρῶ||ν : τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων : φεκάστων νόμος ἐστί, :  
 αἶ κ' ἀποθάνηι, τῶν χ|ρημάτων κρατεῖν : τὸν ἐπίφορον, τὸ  
 κατιφόμενον κρατεῖν. : |

Z. : Τοὺς ἐπιφοίρους : ἐν Ναύπακτον : τὰν δίκαν πρόδιον :  
 ἄρέσται πο' τοὺς δ|ικαστήρας : ἄρέσται : καὶ δόμεν : ἐν Ὀπόεντι  
 κατὰ Φέος αὐταμαρὸν : Λορ|ρὸν τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων : προστάταν  
 35 καταστᾶσαι : τῶν Λορρῶν τῶπιF||οίρωι : καὶ τῶν ἐπιφοίρων τῶι  
 Λορρῶι, : ἴοίτινές κα ἴπιατες ἔντιμοι εσῖ :

H. : Ὅσστις κ' ἀπολίπηι : πατέρα καὶ τὸ μέρος : τῶν χρη-  
 μάτων τῶι πατρί, : ἐπεὶ κ' | ἀπογένηται, : ἐξέειμεν ἀπολαχεῖν :  
 τὸν ἐπίφοιρον ἐν Ναύπακτον. :

Θ. : Ὅσστις : κα τὰ Φεφαδηρότα : διαφθείρηι : τέχραι καὶ  
 μαχαναί : κα|ὶ μιᾶι, ὅ τι κα μὴ ἀνφοτάροις : δοκέηι, : Ὀποντίων :  
 40 τε χιλίων : πλήθ|αι καὶ Ναφπακτίων : τῶν ἐπιφοίρων : πλήθαι,  
 ἄτιμον εἶμεν : καὶ χρήματα παματοφαγεῖσται : τῶνκαλειμένωι :  
 τὰν δίκαν : δόμεν τὸν ἀρ|χόν, : ἐν τριάφοντ' ἀμάραις : δόμεν, :  
 αἴ κα τριάφοντ' ἀμάραι : λείπωντ|αι τᾶς ἀρχᾶς : αἴ κα μὴ  
 διδῶι : τῶι ἐνκαλειμένωι : τὰν δίκαν, : ἄτιμ|ον εἶμεν : καὶ  
 45 χρήματα παματοφαγεῖσται, : τὸ μέρος μετὰ Φο||ικιατᾶν : διο-  
 μόσαι ὄρφον : τὸν νόμιον : ἐν ὕδριαν : τὰν ψάφιξ|ξιν εἶμεν. :  
 Καὶ τὸ θέθμιον : τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοις Λορροῖς : ταῦτὰ τέλεον  
 εἶμεν : Χαλειέοις : τοῖς σὺν Ἀντιφάται : Φοικηταῖς.

This is a copy of a law passed by the Opuntian Lokrians to regulate the precise relations which should exist between their colonists, who were leaving to settle at Naupaktos, and the old country at home. The settlers were joined by a certain number of citizens of Chaleion, a town of West Lokris. At the time of this enactment the Lokroi Opuntioi and Hypoknemidioi (or Epiknemidioi) formed one aggregate, composed of a number of separate cities, which regarded Opus as their head. The writing and style are rude (note the constant repetitions), and it is now generally agreed that the inscription dates from before B.C. 455, at which date Naupaktos was given over to the Messenians by Athens. The alphabet used is that of the Western Lokrians. The tablet must have been set up either in Naupaktos or in Chaleion, since, in the only other likely place, Opus, the clause about the colonists at Naupaktos from Chaleion would have been pointless. Hence the use of the Western alphabet. As to the cause of the settlement, Curtius argues with great plausibility that it was brought about by Korinth as a counter-stroke to Athenian

designs on that part of Greece. The counter-stroke was of course foiled by the capture of Naupaktos by Athens about B. C. 458 (Thuk. i. 103). But although the Korinthians may have welcomed the foundation of a strong anti-Athenian city in these parts, it is probable that fear of the Aitolians had much to do with the movement. See Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup> (1), p. 300, note 3.

The law begins without any sort of preamble, in a way that gives a shock to those used to the elaborate praescripts of Attic inscriptions; but compare, e. g., the law of Gortyna (no. 35). After the first paragraph, or rather the 'principium,' the paragraphs are numbered in the original (A, B, Γ, &c.). We will adopt these divisions in the following notes.

'Terms of colonization to (ἐν=ἐς) Naupaktos. After a Lokrian has become a citizen of Naupaktos, then, being a Naupaktian, he shall retain rights as a ξένος in E. Lokris to enjoy all privileges due to him as such, both social (ἄσσια) and religious (θύειν), and to take part in all sacrifices whatsoever if he visit his country, if he wishes (=βούληται), himself and his family for ever;—sacrifices, whether of the people or of brotherhoods [in φοινάων the reference is to the *sacra* of the gens or of the tribe, &c. κῆ=καὶ ἐ for ἐκ]. The colonists not to pay taxes to E. Lokris, unless they return and become E. Lokrians again. If a colonist wish to return he may, if he leave an adult son or brother as head of his household, be enrolled on the E. Lokrian registers without entrance-sacrifice, at whatsoever town (ἄπω=ἀπόθεν) in E. Lokris he came from. [This seems to imply that the colonists were not merely volunteers; probably each family had to contribute its member.] Similarly if the colonists are ever ejected by enemies (or by the old citizens of Naupaktos). They are to pay taxes only as members of the W. Lokrian state (i. e. not to pay any μετόικιον at Naupaktos, but to be full citizens).'

§ A. 'The colonists are sworn to remain for ever allied with E. Lokris: and thirty years from this swearing, the Opuntians may call upon one hundred Naupaktians to swear the oath for the colonists again, and the Naupaktians may likewise call upon the Opuntians.'



§ B. 'A colonist who leaves Naupaktos in debt to the colony, to lose his rights as a Lokrian, until the debts be paid.'

§ Γ. 'If a colonist dies, and leaves no issue to succeed him nor any heir among the colonists at Naupaktos (ἐχέπαμων = ἐπιπάμων = ἐπικληρος), then his next of kin, of whatever stock (E. or W. Lokrian) he be, may claim the estate, if he appear in person within three months of the death of the owner: otherwise the property must fall under the usual Naupaktian laws for such cases.'

§ Δ. 'A colonist returning from Naupaktos must notify the fact by the herald in the *agora* of Naupaktos, and in the town to which he belongs in E. Lokris' (ᾧ = ὅθεν).

§ E. This refers to two *gentes* (?) of E. Lokris, or possibly to two classes of colonists of a different social standing from the rest. It is evident that these two *gentes* or classes stood in some respects on a different footing from the other E. Lokrians, but whether the difference lay in special privileges or in certain disqualifications, does not appear. Whatever their peculiar position was, it was not to follow them to Naupaktos: it had to do with the possession and inheritance of property. *Ἀυτός* = 'possessor,' as opposed to *τὰ χρήματα*, 'his possessions'; *ὑπὸ τῶν νομ. τῶν ἐπ.* = in accordance with the law of the colonists (viz. the law here laid down in §§ B and Δ).

§ F. 'If a colonist at Naupaktos leave brothers in E. Lokris, and one of his brothers dies, the colonist-brother is to take possession of the property—i. e. his share of it.'

§ Ζ. 'Colonists are to have precedence in the court [*πρὸ τοὺς δικαστ.* 'ἀρέσται is explanatory of the preceding words]; a Hypoknemidian Lokrian is to answer to an action against himself (*κατὰ Φέος*) without a day's delay. The magistrates are to appoint *προστάται*, an E. Lokrian *προστάτης* for the colonists, and a Naupaktian *προστάτης* for the E. Lokrians; these *prostatai* are to be *ἐντιμοί*, in full enjoyment of civic rights.' [*προστάτης* is used in a sense similar to the Attic—the representative of a *metoikos*.]

§ Η. 'A colonist who leaves a father behind him, from whom he has expectations, shall be entitled to his share (*ἀπολαχεῖν*) upon the father's death.'

§ Θ. 'These statutes (*Ἐφεσθηρότα*, pf. from *ἀνδάνω*, cf. τὸ ἄδος, no. 27, l. 19) under no pretext to be broken, under the heaviest penalties (*παματοφαγείσται* clearly = *δημοσιεύεσθαι*), unless a majority both of the Thousand in Opus and of the Colonists in Naupaktos are agreed. The magistrate is to grant a hearing to any one accusing another of a breach of them within thirty days (if so many remain of his year of office), or lose his civil rights, his goods, share of land (*μέρος*) and slaves. The dikasts to give their vote by ballot. The above regulations with regard to colonists from E. Lokris are to hold good *mutatis mutandis* for colonists from Chaleion under Antiphates.'

This free translation will explain most of the difficulties. It seems as if both at Naupaktos and in E. Lokris the chief legislative power lay with a kind of limited *ἐκκλησία* of one thousand citizens (*χιλίων πλῆθρα*), as in Epizephyrian Lokris (Polyb. xii. 16), reminding one of the 'five thousand' at Athens under the oligarchy (Thuk. viii. 72, &c.). This tablet doubtless gives a copy of the original preserved at Opus, and the fact that it was found not far from Chaleion throws some light on the last sentence (cf. no. 44). But this last sentence, as we have seen, did not occur on the original at Opus. The fact that the Chaleian colonists are called *Φοικηταί* proves that it was written at Naupaktos: 'colonists are called *ἄποικοι* in relation to their old home, *ἔποικοι* in relation to that which they seek, and *οἰκήτορες*, *οἰκηταί* κ.τ.λ. in relation to the city in which they then reside' (Meister, p. 327).

## 26 [19].

Activity of Athens in Egypt, Kypros, Aigina, Megara, &c.  
B. C. 459-458.

A large marble slab (the 'Nointel Marble') in the Museum of the Louvre. *Στοιχηδόν*. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 165; Rose, *Inscr. Graecae*, pl. xiv. p. 105; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 433; Froehner, *I. G. du Louvre*, 112; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 9; Roberts, 69; Michel, *Recueil*, 597. For the heading of the inscription see Thuk. i. 104, 105; Grote, pt. 2, ch. 45; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup> (1), p. 305. M. H. de Villefosse has kindly provided an impression of ll. 50 ff.

## Ἐρεχθηΐδος

[\*]οἶδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπέθανον ἐν Κύπρῳ ἐν Αἰγ[ύπτῳ] ἐν Φοινίκῃ  
ἐν Ἀλιεῦσιν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Μεγαρο[ῖ], τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.

(Here follows a list of 168 names.)

5	{ στ[ρα]τηγῶν	Φάνυλλος	Ἄκρυπτος
	{ Φ[ρόνι]χος	Χ[ρό]μιος	Τιμοκράτης
	Π[αντ]αλέων	Εὔ[γ]είτων	Ἄρχελας
	Πολύστρατος	Ἄρ[χ]ιππος	Εὐθυκράτης
	[Δρ]ακοντίδης	Λυ[σ]ικλῆς	Πατροκλείδης[s]
10	. . μόστ[ρ]ατος	Κέ[λ]ευσος	Ἄλκμεωνίδης[s]
	. . μέας	Εὐ[θ]ύδημος	Γλαύκων
	[Εὐ]κλείδης	Δίκαιος	Δημόνικος
	. . κράτης	Φιλ[ῖ]νος	Ἄναχσιδωρος
	[Χα]ιρέδημος	Καλλικλῆς	Γλαύκων
15	. . ἠσίας	Ναυσικλῆς	Προκλῆς
	. . ἠσανδρος	[Τ]ιμησίθεος	Ἄντιφῶν
	[Λυ]κόφρων	[Μυ]ησιγένης	Ἄναχσίλα[s]
	[Ἄ]πολλόδωρος	Π[ο]λυκλῆς	Ἄρχεπολι[s]
	[Ἄ]ριστοτέλης	Ἄλ[ε]χσίας	Καλλέας
20	[Π]ρωτίας	Ἄμύδριππος	Θαλίαρχο[s]
	Δράκαλος	Ἄπολλόδωρος	Φιλώνιχο[s]
	Μηχανίων	Γοργίας	Εὐκλείδης[s]
	Φιλιστίδης	Νόθαρχος	Διόδωρος
	Τιμογένης	Παρμον[ῖ]δης	Νίκαρχος
25	Χαρίσανδρος	Βάκων	Ἐπιτέλης
	[Μ]ενεκλῆς	Πίθων	Κύβων
	[Μ]ελάνωπος	Λυσίας	Χ[α]ιρίας
	[Κ]λεόνβροτος	Σώστρατος	Δημήτριο[s]
	[Ἄ]ριστοκλείδης	Φιλίνος	Ἄρκεσίλας
30	[Θ]ουκυδίδης	Φίλαιθος	Εὐθιοῖνος
	Εὐθύδημος	Φιλέταιρος	Δημήτριος
	[Κ]αλλικράτης	Σωτέλης	Γόργων
	Ἄφσήφης	Λυσίας	Στράτ[ω]ν
	[Ἄ]ριστείδης	Ἄριστογένης	Ἄρισ[τ]οφάνης[s]
35	[Φ]ιλόδημος	Φιλίνος	Γλα[ύ]κων
	[Κ]ηφισόδοτος	Διότιμος	Φυσ[ω]ν[ῖ]δης
	[Σ]ώφιλος	Καλλωνίδης	Ἄγ[υ]όδημος
	[Ἄ]ντιμένης	Καλλίχσενος	Διοκλῆς

	[Ε]παίνετος	Δειίας	Φανόστρατο[s]
40	Ἐργαῖος	Σμίκυθος	Εὐμήνιος
	Διογένης	Τιμόδημος	Θε[ό]δωρος
	Φρῦνος	Λύσις	. . . ὕλεως
	[Κ]τησιάδης	Ἄκεσίας	[Κέ]ρδων
	[Κ]όροιβος	Ἐπιχάρης	[Επ]ιχάρης
45	[Κ]ράτυλλος	Ἱερώνυμος	Ε[ϋ]δοχσος
	[Σ]υνφέρμιος	Ἀναχσίλας	Π[ο]λύζηλος
	[Ν]ικίας	Χαιρίας	Γ[λ]αυκίας
	Λυσικλειδης	Ἡρακλειδης	Ἡριγένης
	Φρούραρχος	Ἀγασικλής	Ἀντιχάρης
50	Χα[ρίσ]ανδρος	Ἄλκᾶς	Φιλιστιδῆ[s]
	Ὀλυμπ[ι]άρατος	Κηφισόδοτος	Ἀμφικλειδ[η]ς
	Σ . . . ος	Καλλικλής	Φρούρος
	Μνη[σ]ίφιλος	Κηφισόδωρος	Τίτων
	Σωσίας	Νουμήνιος	Εὐβιος
55	Ἀρχίνος	Χσενόφιλος	Καλλίβ[ι]ος
	Λυκίνος	Ἵπέρβιος	Σμίκρο[s]
	Καλλίας	Ἄγνω	Νεαῖος
	Μησιγένης	Πολύχσενος	Ἐργοτέ[λης]
	Σίκων	Ἐρχσιμένης	Φωκίων
60	Ἀμφικηδῆς	Νίκων	Ἀραιθ[ος]
	Χσένυλλος		

{ Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ  
 { Τελένικος  
 { μάντις

(Appended at the bottom of the left hand column are 8 names inserted by another hand soon after the erection of the monument.)

{ στρατηγός	{ τοχσόται· Φρῦνος
{ Ἴπποδάμας	{ Ταῦρος
Εὐθύμαχος	{ Θεόδωρος
65 Εὐμηλος	70 Ἀλεχσίμαχος.
Ἄνδροσθένης	

This is evidently one of ten similar stelai for each of the tribes; for the Athenians in battle were drawn up κατὰ φυλάς (Plut. *Aristid.* 5, *Cim.* 17; Lysias, *pro Mantith.* 15; Theo-

phrastos, *Char.* δειλός *ad fin.*), and those who fell were buried κατὰ φυλάς (Thuk. ii. 34). Each tribe furnished one of the strategoi (Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. β1. 1; Plut. *Cim.* 8). Our inscription gives us the names of two, Phrynichos (l. 6) and Hippodamas (l. 63) The latter was presumably Phrynichos' successor; for Droysen's suggestion (*Hermes*, 1875, p. 8), that though a member of the Erechtheid tribe he acted as strategos of some other, cannot be accepted.

## 27 [21].

Halikarnassos in the time of Herodotos; Lygdamis,  
B. C. 460-455.

A stèle of white marble, cut in two down the middle, and somewhat imperfect at bottom; discovered by Sir Charles Newton at Halikarnassos, and now in the British Museum. Newton, *History of Discoveries*, i. pl. 85; ii. pt. 2, p. 671; *Trans. of R. Soc. of Lit.* Dec. 18, 1867; Sauppe, *Götting. Nachrichten* (1863), p. 303; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 500; *Imagines* (1898), p. 53; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 491; Comparetti, *Mél. Graux*, p. 175; Roberts, 145; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 238; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 4 foll.; Th. Reinach, *Rev. des Ét. Gr.* i (1888), pp. 27 foll.; R. Meister, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1888, 1467; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jurid. Gr.* pp. 1-9; Hirschfeld, *Gr. Inscr. in B. M.* no. 886 (with a facsimile of Lord Charlemont's copy made when the stone was in a better condition); Rühl, *Philologus*, xli. pp. 54 foll.; Swoboda, *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* xx. pp. 115 foll.; Kaibel, *Hermes*, 1890, p. 100; Michel, *Recueil*, 451; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 10; O. Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* iii. p. 72, no. 171; B. Haussoullier, *Rev. Crit.* 1899, p. 405. The form τ in the names 'Αλικαρνατέων, &c., is equivalent to σσ; cp. no. 23, B. l. 23, and see B. Keil, *Hermes*, 1894, p. 270.

- § 1. Τάδε δὲ σύλλο[γ]οῖς ἐβουλευσατο  
 ὁ 'Αλικαρνατ[έω]ν καὶ Σαλμακι-  
 τέων καὶ Λύγδαμις ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ[ι]  
 ἀγορῇ, μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος πεμ-  
 5 πτῆ ἱσταμένου, ἐπὶ Λέοντος πρυ-  
 ταν[εύου]ντος τοῦ 'Οσατάτιος κ[α-  
 ῖ] Σα[ρτυ]ωλλου τοῦ 'Οεκυλίω νε-  
 [ωπ]οι[οῦ]. § 2. τ)οὺς μνήμονας μὴ παρ[α]-  
 δίδου[να] μίτε γῆν μίτε οἴκ[ι]-  
 10 α] τοῖς μνήμοσιν ἐπὶ Ἀπολλω-  
 νίδεω τοῦ Λυγδάμιος μνημονε-  
 ύοντος καὶ Παναμύω τοῦ Κασβώ-  
 λλιος, καὶ Σαλμακιτέων μνη-

- μονευόντων Μεγαβάτεω τοῦ Ἄ-  
 15 φνάσιος καὶ Φορμίωνος τοῦ Π[α]-  
 νάσιος. § 3. ἦν δέ τις θέλημι δικάζε-  
 σθαι περὶ γῆς ἢ οἰκίων ἐπικαλ[εί]-  
 τω ἐν ὀκτῶ καὶ δέκα μηνσὶν ἀπ' οὗ τ-  
 ὀ ἄδος ἐγένετο· νόμοι δὲ κατάπ[ε]-  
 20 ρ νῦν ὀρκῶ(ι)σ[αί] τοὺς δικαστάς· ὃ τ[ι]  
 ἂν οἱ μνήμονες εἰδέωσιν, τοῦτο  
 καρτερόν εἶναι. § 4. ἦν δέ τις ὕστερον  
 ἐπικαλῆμι τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τῶν  
 ὀκτῶ καὶ δέκα μηνῶν, ὄρκον εἶναι τ-  
 25 ῶι νεμομένωι τῆγ γῆν ἢ τὰ οἰκ-  
 [ι]α· ὄρκοῦν δὲ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἡμί-  
 [ε]κτον δεξαμένους, τὸν δὲ ὄρκον εἶ-  
 [ν]αι παρεόντος τοῦ ἐνεστηκότος· κ-  
 αρτεροῦς δ' εἶναι γῆς καὶ οἰκίων οἵτινες  
 30 τότ' εἶχον, ὅτε Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ Πανα-  
 μύης ἐμνημόνεον, εἰ μὴ ὕστερο-  
 ν ἀπεπέρασαν. § 5. τὸν νόμον τούτου  
 ἦν τις θέλημι συγχέαι ἢ προθήτα-  
 [ι] ψῆφον ὥστε μὴ εἶναι τὸν νόμο-  
 35 ν τούτου, τὰ ἔοντα αὐτοῦ πεπρήσθω  
 καὶ τῶπόλλωνος εἶναι ἱερά, καὶ α-  
 ὑτὸν φεύγειν αἰεὶ. ἦν δὲ μὴ ἦι αὐτ-  
 ῶι ἄξια δέκα στατήρων, αὐτὸν [π]-  
 επρήσθαι ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῆ καὶ μη[δ]-  
 40 ἀμὰ κάθοδον εἶναι ἐς Ἀλικαρνα-  
 ησσόν. § 6. Ἀλικαρνασσέων δὲ τῶς σ-  
 υμπάντων το[ύ]τωι ἐλεύθερον εἶ[ν]-  
 ναι, ὃς ἂν ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνηι κατ' οὐ-  
 περ τὰ ὄρκια ἔταμον καὶ ὡς γέγραπ[τ]-  
 45 αι ἐν τῶι Ἀπολλω[νί]ωι, ἐπικαλεῖν.

Lygdamis, the grandson of Artemisia, was one of the dynasts of Asia Minor whose rule survived, for a time, the Persian overthrow. Suidas (*s. v.* Ἡρόδοτος) tells us that Lygdamis put to death Panyasis the Epic poet, and drove Herodotos the poet's nephew into exile. Subsequently a revolution took place at Halikarnassos, which ended in the expulsion of Lygdamis and the return of Herodotos. Afterwards

the historian left his city for the second time, and ultimately joined the Athenian colony to Thurioi in B. C. 443. As Halikarnassos appears in the earliest 'Quota-list,' B. C. 454 (no. 33), Lygdamis cannot have been expelled later than B. C. 455, nor can the change have taken place much earlier. We may conjecturally connect this document with the life of Herodotos by dating it somewhere about B. C. 460-455, in the very year in which the revolution took place, but before Lygdamis quitted the city. The exiles had returned, the struggle was over, and the republicans and the Lygdamis party had sworn an agreement with each other which was recorded in the temple of Apollo (§ 6, ὄρκια ἔταμον, κ.τ.λ.). But the republicans wished to recover their lands and houses, which had been confiscated and held 'in chancery' in the hands of the yearly board called οἱ μνημόνες, 'Registrars' (Arist. *Pol.* vii. 8, 1321 b 34 foll.; see also Swoboda, pp. 122 foll.). Their claim is met by the present law. The fact that no definite mention is made of any recent political revolution is to be explained by the pacific nature of this measure.

§ 1. A meeting (whether an extraordinary one or not is uncertain) is called in the 'Sacred Agora' (its locality is unknown), where the citizens of Halikarnassos and Salmakis on the one hand, and Lygdamis on the other, take counsel. If the meeting is a regular one, and σύλλογος is simply equivalent to βουλή, we find two communities with only one council, but separate magistrates, like the various communities which made up the state of Rhodes. Ἀλικαρνασσέων τῶς συμπάντων (l. 41) then means the combined communities. Kaibel holds that the Ionic element was furnished by Salmakis, and that this element so far prevailed that the Ionic dialect was the official language of the whole city, which was officially called Ἀλικαρνησσός (l. 41), while the Dorian inhabitants continued to call themselves Ἀλικαρνασσεῖς. Unfortunately, Lord Charlemont's copy gives Ἀλικαρνασσέων τῶς συμπάντων, where the whole community is intended, so that this explanation of the Ionic dialect, which is for other reasons improbable, must be discarded. Nevertheless it remains very curious how completely Ionicized the Dorian colony of Halikarnassos had thus early become—hence the Ionic of Herodotos. The position of

the tyrant Lygdamis in relation to the legislative assembly is paralleled, as Swoboda has shown, by later examples, especially from the Hellenistic age.

§ 2. It is decided that the board of *μνήμονες* just expiring shall not hand over any lands or houses to the incoming board. In other words, the returned exiles are to have them back. Lygdamis the father of Apollonides may be a kinsman of the tyrant; Panyassis is possibly the uncle of Herodotos (but the name is common). § 3. If several claimants apply for the same property, their claim must be entered within eighteen months of the passing of this law, and the dikasts are to administer the oath (to the *μνήμονες* ?); no point which the *μνήμονες* declare to be within their own knowledge is to be called in dispute. For *ἄδος* cp. *E. M. s. v. ἄδον*; Hesych. *s. v. ἄδημα, ἄδος ψήφισμα, δόγμα*; and cp. no. 25, § Θ. The *iota adscriptum* in *ὄρκῳ ι σ[αι]*, is probably a mere blunder of the stone-cutter. § 4. If a claim is made after the prescribed time, the owner in possession is to take oath, in the presence of the claimant (*τοῦ ἐνεστηκότος*), that he is the rightful owner: such oath to be administered by a court of dikasts, who are to have  $\frac{1}{12}$  of a stater for their trouble. In all cases, whoever is proved to have been in possession under the *μνήμονες* Apollonides and Panamyas, he is to be regarded as the lawful owner—unless (of course) he has alienated (*ἀπεπέρασεν*) the property since. § 5. This law to be for ever binding and unalterable. § 6. Any citizen, who himself keeps it, may bring an action against him who attempts to bring about the abrogation of the law. *τ[ούτ]φ, sc. τῷ νόμῳ*. The genitive *Ἀλικαρνασσεῶν* is partitive after *ὅς ἄν*: *ἐλεύθερον* is masculine.

## 28 [22].

### Rise of Athens: Battle of Tanagra, B. C. 457.

Five fragments of marble. *Στοιχηδόν*. (a) Köhler, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ix. 389; *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 107; (b) *Archaeologia*, ii. pp. 216 foll., now existing somewhere in England, one would be glad to know where; (c) discovered on the Akropolis near the Parthenon; (b) and (c) *C. I. A.* i. 441; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 36; Roberts, 77; (d) in private possession at Athens, Kirchhoff, *Studien* 4, 97 n; *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 107. These four in Prellwitz, *Gr. Dialekt-*



*Inscr.* 3266; Michel, *Recueil*, 611; Böhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 66, no. 6. (e) in *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 132.

α			
	[-υυ ἐν Ταν]άγραι Λα[κεδαιμονι -υυ --]		
	- - - ι πένθο[s - - ]		
	- - - ος ἼΑν[τι - - -		
	- - - Θε - - -		
	- - Ε - - -		
	- - Ο - - -		
β		γ	
5	[Φ]οῖνιξ	- - -	. . τριος
	[Φ]ιλίας		[Ἰ]ριστίων
	[Β]ράχας		[Σ]φενδονίων
5	Τελέστας	: . . ι μαρναίει	5 [Λ]υκῖνος
	Δαμοφάνης		[Φ]αναξίλας
	Θυμάρης		[Δ]έρκετος
	Δαϊκλῆς		[Ἰ]εμείης
	Σύλιχος		[Κλέοβ]ις ?
10	Δέρκετος	: . . ι μαρναίει	10 - - - -
	Λυροδόρκας		
	Κλέων		
	Κρατιάδας		
	[Α]ἰσχύλος		
15	[Εὐ]αρχί[δ]ας		
	- - - -		
δ		ε	
	Αἰσχ[χ - - - ]	- -	
	Δαμ[α]ῖ[ι - - - ]	. . . ο - -	
	Παν[θ]ά[ητος ?]		[Δά]ιος
	Δωρό[ι - - - ]		[Πύ]ρ(ρ)ος
5	Μῦς Π - - ( <i>vel</i> Μυσπ - -)	5	[Τ]ιμοσ[θένης]
	Ἄρτε[μ - - - ]		[Ἰ]γίς
	- - -		[Μ]οσ[χ - -
			- - -

Neither the characters nor the names are Attic, and Böckh, before the discovery of (α), ingeniously identified this with the tomb of the Kleonaians who marched with the Argives and

assisted the Athenians at the battle of Tanagra. Pausanias saw their tomb in Kerameikos (i. 29. 5 and 7), *ἐνταῦθα καὶ Κλεωναῖοι κεύνται, μετὰ Ἀργείων ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθόντες . . . μελλούσης Ἀθηναίων ἐν Τανάγρα γίνεσθαι πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης ἀφίκοντο Ἀθηναίους Ἀργεῖοι βοηθοῦντες· καὶ παραντίκα μὲν ἔχοντας πλέον τοὺς Ἀργεῖους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἀφείλετο τὸ σαφὲς τῆς νίκης, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπήρξε κρατῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους, Θεσσαλῶν προδόντων Ἀθηναίους: cp. Thuk. i. 107. Two of the fragments (*b* and *e*) have been found on the Akropolis. The provenance of the others is not known; but they probably belong to the same stone, and so many stones have been transported in Athens, that we must not conclude that a copy of the memorial must have existed on the Akropolis. On the right of *b* is a fragment of a metrical epitaph.*

## 29.

## Battle of Tanagra, B. C. 457.

On a marble fragment once built into the wall of a house in the *ὁδὸς Μουσαίου* in Athens, now lost. *Στοιχηδόν*. Published without identification by U. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 1677, from a copy by A. Postolakkas; restored by A. Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. pp. 221 foll.

[Χαίρετε ἀριστῆες πολέμου μέγα κ]ῦδο[ς ἔχοντες,  
Κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων ἔχσοχοι ἵππ]οσύνα[ι,  
ὅτι ποτε καλλιχόρου περὶ πατ]ρίδος ὦ[λέσαθ' ἠ]βην  
πλείστοις Ἑλλάνων ἀντία μ]αρνάμε[νοι.

The restoration is effected by the help of an epigram (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 254) attributed to Simonides. Wilhelm gives good reasons for attributing the inscription to a date about the middle of the fifth century, and no event of that time tallies with the circumstances described in the epigram so well as the battle of Tanagra. If he is right, the attribution to Simonides, who died in B. C. 468, falls to the ground. The use of the Doric *a* in *ἵπποσύνα* (proved by the inscription) and in Ἑλλάνων (preserved by the MS.) is analogous to the Doric vocalization common in lyric poetry.

## 30.

## Battle of Tanagra, B. C. 457.

A marble slab in three fragments from Olympia. Purgold, *Arch. Ztg.* xl (1882), pp. 179 foll., no. 435; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* Add. no. 26 a; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Olympia-Inscr.* 253; Blass, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 3157; E. Hoffmann, *Syll. Epigr.* 312.

[Ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέα]ν ἔχει· ἐγ δὲ [Ῥανάγρας  
τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμ]μαχία τ' ἀνέθεν,  
δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθα]ναίων καὶ Ῥίανων,  
τὰν δεκάταν νίκας ἔει]κα τοῦ πο[λέμου.]

5 . . . . . Κορ[ινθ]ι - - - -

. . . . . ρ - - - - -

The epigram is quoted by Pausanias (v. 10. 4, where see Frazer's note) from the dedication made by the Lakedaimonians and their allies from the spoils of the battle of Tanagra. The writing is however Korinthian. It has been suggested that the 'shield,' as Pausanias calls it, may have been made by a Korinthian metal-worker (see l. 5). The object was really a φιάλη (see Benndorf, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. p. 9). The lines following the epigram may have contained a list of the allies, or some statement regarding the setting up of the inscription. Pausanias' statement that the epigram was on the 'shield' itself is characteristically loose: it was on the stone base. His version, so far as it can be compared with the part actually preserved, differs in v. 4 in having τῶ for τοῦ.

## 31 [10].

## Argive victory over the Korinthians: about B. C. 456?

On a bronze 'Korinthian' helmet from Olympia, discovered in the Alpheios in 1795: now in the British Museum (Newton, *Gr. Inscr. in B. M.* ii. 2, no. 137; Walters, *Catal. of Bronzes*, no. 251). See Rose, *Inscr. Graecae*, 4, pl. viii; Böckh, *C. I. G.* 29, and *addend.* p. 885; Kirchoff, *Studien*, p. 98; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 32; *Imagines* (1898), p. 66; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Inscriften von Olympia*, no. 250; Prellwitz, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 3263; E. Hoffmann, *Sylogé Epigr.* 308; Michel, *Recueil*, 1087; Roberts, 75. The line is quasi-metrical, like many early inscriptions, and forms an irregular senarius.

Τάργ[εῖ]οι ἀνέθεν τῶι Διφι τῶν Κορινθόθεν.

It is impossible definitely to connect this inscription with any known event; but on epigraphical grounds it may be

placed about the middle of the fifth century, and accordingly we may connect it with the fighting which took place in Argolis after the battle of Oinophyta. Among the events of this period the mysterious battle of Oinoe and the capture of Troizen by the Athenians must probably be reckoned (see Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 323); and the helmet in question as probably represents some minor conflict between the Argives and a Korinthian army fighting on the Lakedaimonian side.

## 32 [23].

Athens and her subject-allies : Constitution of Erythrai  
in Ionia, B. C. 455-450.

A large marble found near the Erechtheion, published by Böckh, *C. I. G.* 73<sup>b</sup> (Addend. pp. 890 foll.), but now apparently lost; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 9. Unfortunately the only copies existing are very inaccurate, so that much doubt hangs over the restoration of many particular words, although the general tenor is certain enough. Erythrai is named in the quota-list for B. C. 450 (Köhler, *Urkund.* p. 15), but the date of its subjection is not known. Thasos was reduced B. C. 463, and all the allies, except Chios and Lesbos, had been reduced by the time of the Samian War B. C. 440. The reduction of Erythrai falls between 463 and 450, but the characters of our inscription are hardly earlier than 455. The text is in the main that of Kirchhoff; cp. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 8; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 5; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup> (1), pp. 225 foll.; P. Fischer, *Quaest. de Athen. Sociis historicae*, Bonn., 1887 (pp. 17 foll.). The restoration of ll. 33, 34 is suggested by Dr. Wilhelm.

v. 1. To this effect: [Ἐδοχσεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι. ἡ δεῖνα ἐπρυτάνευε, ὁ δεῖνα ἐγραμμάτευε, ὁ δεῖνα] ἐπεστάται. Λ[- - - εἶπε].

The decree (*a*, vs. 2-7): [Ἐρυθραίων ἀπάγειν - - ἐς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα ἄχσ[ια μὴ | ἐλάττων]ος ἢ τριῶν μυνῶν. καὶ νέμειν Ἐρυθραίων [τ]οῖς παροῦσι [τῶν | κρεῶν τ]οὺς ἱεροπο[ι]οὺς δραχμῆν 5 ἑκάστωι. ἐὰν δὲ ἀπάγηται [μὲν ἱερ]ο[εῖα, μ]ὴ ἄχσια δὲ τριῶν μυνῶν κατὰ τὰ εἰ[ρημ]ένα, πρίασθαι [μὲν τοὺς | βοῶνα]ς ἱερεῖα, τὸν [δὲ δῆ]μον τὸν Ἐρυθραίων ὀφείλειν ἀναγράψ[εσθαι. | τῶν δὲ κ]ρεῶν ἑσ[τ]ιάσ[θαι ἄλ]λον τῶν βουλομένω[ν].

(*b*, vs. 7-28). Ἐρυθραίων ἀπ[ὸ κ]νάμων βουλὴν εἶναι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας. τὸν δὲ [κνα]μευθέντα δο[κι]μά[ς]ειν ἐν τῆι 10 [β]ουλῆι· καὶ μὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι βουλευ[ε]ν μὴ δὲ || ἔν)α ὀλειζον ἢ τριάκοντα ἕτη γεγονότα. δίωχσιν δ' εἶναι [κατὰ | τ]ῶν ἐλε[γ]χο[μ]ένων· βουλευεῖν δὲ μὴ ἐντὸς τεττάρων ἐτῶν. [. . ἀπο]κναμεῦσαι [δ]ὲ καὶ

καταστήσαι νῦν μὲν τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς ἐ[πι|σκ]όπους καὶ [τὸν] φρ[ού]-  
 ραρχον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν [φρούρ]|αρχον. [τῶ]μ  
 15 βουλευσόντων ἕκαστον Ἐρυθραῖσι π[ρ]ί]ν ἐσιέναι [ἐς τὴν || ἀρχ]ῆ]ν  
 ὀμνύναι [μὲν Δ]ία κα[ὶ] Ἄπολλω καὶ Δῆμη[τρα], ἐπαρώμενο[ν] ἐχσώ]-  
 λειαν ἑα[υτῶ]ι ἐπιποροῦντι κ[α]ὶ παι[σ]ί]ν ἑαυτοῦ· [τὸ]ν δὲ ὄρκου  
 ὀ[μ]νύνα]ι κατὰ ἱερῶν καιομένων. τὴν δὲ βουλὴν [τῆ]ν βουλ[ε]ύ]-  
 ουσαν τα[ῦ]τα ἀναγκάζειν. ἔαν δὲ μή, εἶναι ζημιῶσαι [χι]λ[ί]α]σιν  
 δρ[αχμῆ]σι | ἧ] τὸ ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρυθραίων αὐτοὺς καταβαλεῖν  
 20 [φσ]ηφίσηται. || ὀμνύνα[ι] δ[ὲ] τὰ]δε [τῆ]ν βουλῆ]ν—

βουλεύσω ἕως ἂν [δύ]νω[μ]α[ι] ἄ[ρ]ισστ[α]  
 κα[ὶ] δικα[ιό]τα]τα Ἐρυθραίων τῶι πλήθει  
 καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν [χσ]υ[μ]μά[χ]ων. [κ]αὶ  
 οὐκ [ἀποσ]τήσομαι Ἀθηναίων τοῦ π[λ]ή-  
 θους οὐδὲ [τῶ]ν χσυνμάχων τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἄ[λ]λωι πε-  
 [ί]σομαι. | οὐ]δ' αὐτομολή[σω] οὔτ' αὐτὸς  
 ἐγὼ ο[ὔ]τ' ἄλλωι [π]εί[σομαι] οὐδὲ ἑνί. ||  
 25 οὐδὲ] τῶν φ[ε]υγόν[των] [κατ]αδέχομαι οὐδ[ὲ]  
 ἕνα, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτ' [ἄ]λλωι πείσο-  
 [μ]α[ι], τῶν ἐς] Μήδους φυγ[ό]ντων, ἄνευ  
 τῆς γνώμη[ς] τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ [δ]-  
 ἡμου. οὐδὲ τῶν μενόντων ἐχσελῶ [ἄ]-  
 νευ τῆς γνώμη[ς] τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ  
 δήμου.

(c, vs. 28-38) ἔαν δέ τις ἀποκτείνῃ [Ἐρυθραῖ]ος ἕτερον  
 30 Ἐρυθραῖον, τεθ[ν]άτω. ἔαν [δέ] τ[ο]υ [ἀ]ει[φυγία] || κατα]γνωσθῆ]ι,  
 φευγέτω ἅμα καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χσυμαχί[δα] | καὶ τ]ὰ χρήματα  
 δημόσ[ια] ἔσ]τω Ἐρυθραίων. ἔαν δέ τις [ἄ]λωι προ[δ]ιδούς το[ῦ]ς  
 τυράννοις τῆμ πόλιν [τ]ῶν Ἐρυθραῖ[ω]ν καὶ [αὐτ]ῶν [ν]ηποιεῖ]ι  
 τεθνάτω [κ]α[ὶ] παῖδες ὅι ἐχς ἐκείνου, ἐά[ν] μῆ [οἰκείως] *vel*  
 35 ἐπιτηδείως] ἔχου[τες] ὅι παῖδες ὅι ἐχς [ἐ]κείνου ἐς τὸν δῆμον ||  
 τὸν Ἐρυθραῖω[ν] καὶ [τὸ]ν Ἀθηναίων ἀποφανθῶσιν. τὰ δὲ χρή-  
 ματα [τοῦ ἁλόντος] καταθ]έντας ἔχειν τοῦ[ς] π]αῖδας τὸ ἧμισυ  
 - | - - ἔσθω κατ[ὰ] τ]αὐτὰ καὶ - - - ὄντων Ἀθηναίων - - -  
 Ερυθραῖσι - - -

In the concluding passage there appears to be mention of a *τόχσαρχος* and *φρούριον*, but all attempts at restoration are hopeless.

(a) Regulates the contributions to the Panathenaic festival (cp. no. 41). (b) Regulates the number and mode of election of the Councillors, and prescribes the oath to be sworn by them. In constituting a government upon the Athenian model, the βουλή was the most important feature. For the ἐκκλησία included, without restriction, all who had the franchise; but the senate met daily, had the power of initiating (προβούλευμα), and through the πρυτάνεις controlled the ἐκκλησία, and yet being elected by lot (κναμεῦσαι) was a thoroughly democratic institution. On the employment of oaths and imprecations in Greek politics see no. 23. A permanent garrison (consisting partly at least of τοξόται) is established in the city, and its commandant superintends the constitution not merely of the first Council, but also of each successive one. In the former task, if ἐπισκόπους is rightly restored (ll. 12, 13), he is aided by civil magistrates sent out by Athens and answering, as Theophrastos (Harpokr. s. v. ἐπίσκοπος) tells us, to the Spartan ἄρμοσταί. (c) Gives the sanction. With the whole inscription comp. no. 40.

## 33 [24].

**List of the Quota of Tribute paid to Athens in the year  
B. C. 454.**

The inscriptions commonly spoken of as 'Tribute-lists' fall into two classes. (1) Decrees of new assessment: see no. 64; (2) The accounts of the quota of Tribute yearly dedicated to the goddess as an ἀπαρχή or first-fruits, her share being  $\frac{1}{8}$ th or μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάλαντου (see *C. I. A.* i. 260). The lists of this latter sort were inscribed upon blocks and slabs of marble, many fragments of which have been found on the Akropolis, and have been pieced together by the successive labours of Rangabé (*Antiq. Hellén.* i. pp. 236 foll.), Böckh (*Staatsh.* ii. pp. 332 foll.), Köhler (*Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. Delisch-Attisch. Bundes*, Berl. 1870), and Kirchhoff (*C. I. A.* i. 226-272). Six of these marbles have been thus restored, which give the yearly accounts with scarcely any break from B. C. 454 (the year in which the common funds were probably transferred from Delos to Athens) down to B. C. 421. The lists are a good deal broken in places, but as the same names recur, and often in a similar order, many of the lacunae have been filled up with certainty. A peculiar interest attaches to the first list drawn up by the Hellenotamiai after the transfer of the Fund to Athens, which is here subjoined, from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 226; Köhler, *Urk.* p. 6; cp. Michel, *Recueil*, 556, and Add. p. 948. Στοιχηθόν.

[ῥΑῖδε τῶν φόρων τῶν παρ]ὰ τῶν ῥ[Ε]λλ[ηνοτ]αμιῶν, ῥο[ῖς] . . . . .  
 . . . . . ἐγραμμάτευε, τοῖς] τριάκο[ντα ἀπ]εφάνθη[σα]ν [ἀπαρχαῖ τ-  
 ῆι θεῶι ἐπὶ ῥΑρίστωνος ῥ]ρχοντος ῥΑ[θην]αίοις, μνᾶ ἀ[πὸ τοῦ ταλά-  
 ντου].

(Column 1 on the marble.)

6 b - - - - - . . . . . ῥ]χς  
 [- - - Δ]ΔΔΤΤΤ||  
 - - - is ΗΓΤΤ|||  
 [Χερρονησ]ῖται Χ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗ  
 - - - - - ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΤΤΤ|||

(Column 2 on the marble.)

12 - - - - - ||  
 - - - ΠΗΗ  
 - - - - [Η]ΗΗΗ  
 15 - - - - Η  
 - - - - ΠΗΗΗΗ  
 - - - - - ΔΙ  
 - Η[Η<sup>Π</sup>]ΔΔΤ

*lacuna.*

[Πεπαρήθιοι ?] ΗΗΗ  
 [Κολοφών]ιοι ΗΗΗ  
 Νοτ[ι]ῆς ΔΔΔΤΤΤ||  
 Διοσερίται ΔΤΤ|||  
 5 b Σπαρτώλιοι ΗΗ.  
 Αἰραῖοι ΗΗΗ  
 Λινδίων Οἰᾶται <sup>Π</sup>Τ  
 ῥΑστακηνοί Η<sup>Π</sup>  
 Νεοπολίται <sup>Π</sup>  
 10 b Μαιάνδριοι <sup>Π</sup>ΔΤΤ|||

(Column 3 on the marble.)

5 [Μαρ]ωνῖται Η<sup>Π</sup>  
 [Λί]νδιοι <sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ[--]  
 [Οἰ]ναῖοι ἐν ῥΙ-  
 κάρωι ΗΔΔΔΤΤΤ[||]  
 ῥΗσσιοι Η  
 10 Νεάνδρεια ΔΔΔΤΤΤ[||]

Λαμπώνεια ΔΤΤ|||([I])

ῥΑλικαρ-  
 νασσῆς Η<sup>Π</sup>ΔΤΤ|||

Στρεφσαῖοι Η

15 Γαλήφσιοι Η<sup>Π</sup>

Κυρβισσός ΔΔΔΤΤΤ||

Διδυμοτει-

χῖται ΔΤΤ|||

[Δικ]αιοπο-

20 [λί]ται Η]ΗΗΗ

- - - -

- - - -

*lacuna.*

Λί[παχσος ?] - -

Κλαζομέν[ιοι] - - -

ῥΑργίλιοι Χ<sup>Π</sup> -

Καρβασσανδῆς - - -

5 b Φασηλίται <sup>Π</sup>Η

Τερμερῆς ΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>

Κεβρήνιοι ΗΗΗ

Κασολ[αβῆς] - - -

Δίκ[αία]

πα[ρ] ῥΑβδηρα] - - -

(Column 4 on the marble.)

5 ῥΑβ[δηρῖ]ται ΧΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΤ

ῥΟλύνθ[ιοι] Σκα- [Τ|| ?]||

βλαῖο[ι] ῥΑσ]ση-

ρῖται Η . . . . . Τ .

Σερμυλ[ιῆς] Χ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΤΤ

10 Μηκυπερ[να]ῖοι

Στώλιοι <sup>Π</sup> . . . . Ι

Χασταί ΗΗΔ[ΔΔ]ΔΤ||

Σίγγιοι ΗΗ[ΗΗΓΓΓ]ΓΓ||  
 Θάσιοι ΗΗΗ  
 15 Μυσοί ΔΔΔΓ[ΓΓ||]  
 Πίκρης Συναγ[γελεύς] - -  
 Κεδριῆται[ι] - -  
 Κεράμιοι - -  
 Βουθειῆς - -  
 20 Κυλλάν[δ]ι[οι] - -  
 - ο - - -

*lacuna.*

(Column 5 on the marble.)

5 Να[ρι]σ[βαρηῆς] - - -  
 Μυδ[ό]νες - - -  
 Κια[ν]οί Δ[ΓΓΓ||]

Ἄ[ρ]τακηνο[ί] - - -  
 [Ν]εά[π]ολις  
 [ἐ]ν [Θρ]άκηι ΔΓ[Γ||]  
 Βερ[ύ]σιοι ὕπο  
 τῆι [Ἰ]δηι ΔΓΓ||  
 Αὐλιᾶται Κᾶρες ΓΓΓ[Γ||]  
 Ἰᾶται Η  
 Παριανοί Η  
 [Δ]ασκύλειον  
 [ἐ]ν Προποντιδί ΓΓΓ||  
 [Α]ἰγινῆται ΧΧΧ  
 Μιλήσιοι  
 [ἐ]χς Λέρου ΗΗΗ  
 [Μι]λήσιοι  
 [ἐ]ν Τ[ε]ιχιουόσση[ι] - - -

The series of documents of which this is a specimen is of great importance to the student of Greek history. Their results have been admirably drawn out by Böckh in the 2nd volume of his *Staatshaushaltung* (ed. 3, pp. 332 foll.), and more completely by Köhler in his special work on the subject. See also the analyses by U. Pedrolì, *I tributì degli alleati d'Atene* in Beloch's *Studi di Storia antica*, Fasc. i (1891), pp. 101-207, and by Larfeld in his *Handbuch der griech. Epigraphik*, ii. pp. 26 foll. Among other things, we recover (1) the list of Tributary States; (2) the precise years during which they each belonged to the Confederacy; (3) the amount of the yearly φόρος, which is arrived at in each case by multiplying the quota given by 60; (4) the various changes made in the tribute; and (5) the mode of its administration. As to the names in this list and nos. 43, 48, 64, 65, the reader is referred to the works above quoted, or to the map of the Athenian Confederacy in Kirchoff's *C.I.A.* vol. i. Two or three interesting facts may however be mentioned here.

The earliest quota-list in B. C. 454 most likely marks the date of the transference of the Fund from Delos to Athens. Until then probably a similar ἀπαρχή had been paid in to the Delian Apollo, which was now simply transferred to Athena.

In the first eleven lists the tributary states are enumerated



with little regard to geographical order. From the 12th year (B.C. 443-442) onwards, they are distributed into five Regions, Ἴωνικὸς φόρος, Ἑλλησπόντιος φ., Ἐπὶ (once ἀπὸ) Θράκης φ., Καρικὸς φ., Νησιωτικὸς φ. (see no. 43). After the new assessment made B.C. 439, the Ionian and Karian Regions are grouped under one head, first as 'Ionian' and afterwards as 'Karian'; the order being *Ionian* (or *Karian*), *Islands*, *Hellespont*, *Thrace*. Traces of the earlier distribution are found in the historians (see Thuk. ii. 9, Καρία . . Ἴωνία, Ἑλλάσποντος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, νῆσοι: cp. Plut. *Per.* 17).

Respecting the assessment of the tribute something will be said on no. 64, which is the only known example of the kind.

The number of the Tributaries named in the lists amounts to under 290. The only known estimate of their number is in Aristophanes (*Wasps*, 707, acted B.C. 422, εἰσὶν γε πόλεις χίλιαι, αἱ νῦν τὸν φόρον ἡμῶν ἀπάγουσιν), where 1000 is manifestly an exaggeration, but yet not intended to be beyond the limits of credibility. Many of the towns named in the lists had paid for themselves and for smaller places connected with them (*συντελεῖς*). At the assessment of 425-424 a number of the smaller places were assessed separately from the others, thus very considerably increasing the number of πόλεις, possibly to double the number preserved to us in the quota-lists. Böckh (*Staatsh.*<sup>3</sup> ii. pp. 414 foll.) supposes that the sapient Bdelykleon reckoned that for every city down in the published lists there were three that really paid; and thus in round numbers  $300 \times 3$  are set down as χίλιαι.

The total amount yearly received as assessed by Aristeides (ὁ ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρος, Thuk. i. 96; v. 18. § 5) was 460 talents. At the opening of the Peloponnesian War Perikles is made to estimate it (Thuk. ii. 13) at '600 talents upon the average.' The latter figure does not agree with the inscriptions: the discrepancy is explained in the notes on no. 48.

The heading of the list before us should be compared with the shorter heading of no. 43. The board of 10 Hellenotamiai, having received the tribute, drew up these lists, which were then audited by the Logistai (οἱ τριάκοντα, a board who had the control of all official accounts). See Christ, *de publ. pop.*, *Athen. rationibus* (Greifswald, 1879), p. 28.

## 34 [25].

## The Sicilian Cities: Selinus, about B.C. 452.

A broken block of tufa discovered among the ruins of the Temple of Apollo at Selinus, in March, 1871. See the copy of Gregorio Ugdulena in the *Rivista Sicula di scienze, &c.*, 1871; A. Holm, *Bull. d. commiss. di ant.* 1871, no. iv. p. 27; O. Benndorf, *Metopen von Selinunt*, 1873, pp. 27 foll.; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 515; *Imagines* (1898), p. 79; F. Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 3046; Kaibel, *I. G. S. I.* 268; Roberts, 117; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 751; Michel, *Recueil*, 1240. Cf. Sauppe, *Gött. Nachr.* 1871, no. 24, 605; Holm, *Rh. Mus.* 1872, p. 353; Blass, *ibid.* 1881, p. 615.

[Δι]ὰ τὼς θεὸς τῶ[σ]δε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινῶν[τιοι·  
 δι]ὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον [καὶ]  
 δ[ι]ὰ Ἡρακλέα κ[α]ὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ διὰ Π[οτ]-  
 ε[ιδᾶ]να καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας καὶ δι' Ἀθ[α]-  
 5 ν[ᾶ]ν καὶ διὰ Μαλοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασικ[κ]-  
 ρά[τ]ειαν καὶ δι[ὰ τ]ὼς ἄλλως θεῶς, [δ]ιὰ δ[ε] Δία  
 μάλιστ[α]· φιλι[σ]α[σ] δὲ γενομένης, ἐν χρυσ-  
 έω[ι] ἐλά[σα]ντα[ς, τὰ δ'] ὀνύματα ταῦτα κολ-  
 ᾶ[ψ]αντ[α]ς ἐς τὸ Ἀπ[ο]λλ[ώ]νιον καθέμε-  
 10 ν, τὸ Διδ[ε]σ προ[γ]ρά[ψαν]τες. τὸ δὲ χρυσίον  
 ἐξ[ή]κοντα τ[α]λάντων [ῆ]μεν.

The people of Selinus dedicate gold statues of certain deities, as a thank-offering for a victory, upon the conclusion of peace (line 7). Who were the defeated people? The common opinion is, or was, that they were the people of Egesta, the two states having a standing feud respecting a strip of territory (Thuk. vi. 6). Diodoros (xi. 86) records a war in B.C. 454-453 between Egesta and 'Lilybaion' *περὶ χώρας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Μαζάρῳ ποταμῷ*. As Lilybaion was not founded until a century later, Grote (pt. 2, ch. 57) suggests that the war was really between Egesta and Selinus. (Comp. Benndorf, *loc. cit.*) As our inscription, to judge from the writing, cannot be later than about B.C. 450 (Kirchhoff, *Studien* 4, p. 113), it may refer to this war. The Halikyaioi have also been suggested by Köhler in place of the Lilybaisians; the name ('Αλι)κυαίοις appears in an Attic decree relating to an embassy which came from Egesta to Athens (*C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 58, no. 22 k; Köhler, *Mitth. d. Inst., Ath. Abth.* 1879, p. 30).

Dr. Wilhelm holds that in this decree the Halikyaioi figure as allies of Egesta. It seems therefore justifiable, on the basis of Grote's and Köhler's suggestions, to read in Diodoros Ἀλικυαίοις for Λιλυβαίταις, and suppose the words πρὸς Σελιωνντίους to have dropped out (see Busolt's note, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 521, and cp. Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. p. 227, note 17). A less attractive proposal is to substitute Σελιωνντίοις for Ἐγεσταίοις in Diodoros, Λιλυβαίταις, being then a loose expression for the people of Motye (see Holm, *Gesch. Sic.* i. pp. 257, 431). About B.C. 450 Selinus was at the height of her prosperity (Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 515; cf. Holm, *Gesch. Sic.* i. p. 288; Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, ii. p. 553). Μαλοφόρος and Πασικράτεια are Demeter and Persephone (Pausan. i. 44. 4) Μαλοφόριος was one of the months in the calendar of Byzantium, which, like Selinus, was a Megarian colony. Φόβος represents Ἄρης (cp. Plut. *Cleom.* 8; *Thest.* 27). For Zeus Agoraios at Selinus see Herod. v. 46. The syntax of lines 8-10, assuming the restoration of line 8 to be correct, is irregular but not unexampled. With ἐλάσαντας we must understand the images of the gods, which were to be in relief on a plate of gold (χρύσεον being used substantivally), while the list of names was to be incised (κολάφαντας).

### 35.

#### The Laws of Gortyna: about B.C. 450.

Part of the great inscription discovered by Halbherr in 1884, on a course in the wall supporting the *cavea* of a theatre of Roman date; the stones with the inscription had been transferred from an earlier building. Βουστροφηδόν. Comparetti, *Museo ital. di antich. class.* i (1885), pp. 233-288; E. Fabricius, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ix (1884), pp. 363 foll., pl. xx, xxi; Bücheler and Zitelmann, *Rhein. Mus.* (1885), *Ergänzungsheft*; Comparetti in the *Mon. Ant.* iii (1893), pp. 93 foll.; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jurid. Gr.* i. pp. 352 foll.; H. Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 5; Michel, *Recueil*, 1333. Comp. J. W. Headlam, *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, xiii (1893), pp. 48 foll. For a fuller bibliography, see the work of Dareste, &c.

The portion given here as a specimen of the code occupies the first column of the inscription.

Θιοί.

(§ 1) Ὅς κ' ἐλευθέρωι ἢ δώλωι μέλληι ἀν-  
πιμωλῆν, πρὸ δίκας μὴ ἄγειν· αἱ δ-

- 10 ἔ κ' ἄγχι, καταδικασάτω τῷ ἐλευθέρ-  
 5 ω δέκα στατήραυς, τῷ δώλω πέντ-  
 ε, ὅτι ἄγει, καὶ δικασάτω λαγάσαι  
 ἐπ ταῖς τρισὶ ἀμέραις. [αἰ δέ] κα  
 μὴ [λαγ]άσηι, καταδικαδδέτω τῷ μὲν  
 ἐλευθέρω στατήρα, τῷ δώλω [δα]ρκυ-  
 15 ἂν τ[ᾶς] ἀμέρας Φεκάστας πρίν κα λα-  
 γάσηι· τῷ δὲ κρόνω τὸν δι[κ]αστ-  
 ἂν ὄ[μ]νύντα κρίνεν. αἰ δ' ἀννίοιτο  
 μὴ ἄγεν, τὸν δικαστὰν ὀμνύντ-  
 α κρ[ί]νεν, αἰ μὴ ἀποπωνίοι μαίτυς.  
 15 (§ 2) Αἰ δέ κα μωλῆι ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθε[ρ]ου,  
 ὁ δ[ὲ] δ[ώ]λων, καρτόναυς ἦμεν  
 [ῶττο]ι κ' ἐλεύθερον ἀποπωνίων-  
 τι· αἰ δέ κ' ἀνπὶ δώλωι μωλίωντι  
 πωνίουτες Φὸν Φεκάτερος ἦμ-  
 20 εν, αἰ μὲν κα μαίτυς ἀποπωνῆι, κ-  
 ατὰ τὸν μαίτυρα δικαδδεν· αἰ  
 δέ κ' ἢ ἀνποτέροις ἀποπωνίωντι  
 ἢ μηδατέρωι, τὸν δικαστὰν ὀ-  
 μνύντα κρίνεν.  
 (§ 3) ἼΗ δέ κα νικαθηῖ ὁ  
 25 ἔκων, [τ]ὸμ μὲν ἐλεύθερον λαγ-  
 άσαι τᾶν πέ[ν]τ' ἀμερᾶν, τὸν δὲ δῶ-  
 λ[ον] ἐς κήραυς ἀποδόμεν· αἰ δέ  
 κα μὴ λαγάσηι ἢ μὴ ἀποδῶι, δικακ-  
 σάτω νικῆν τῷ μὲν ἐλευθέρω  
 30 πεντήκοντα στατήραυς καὶ σ-  
 τατήρα τᾶς ἀμερᾶς Φεκάστ-  
 ας πρίν κα λαγάσηι, τῷ δὲ δώλω  
 δέκα στατήραυς καὶ δαρκνὰν  
 τᾶς ἀμερᾶς Φεκάστας πρίν κ' ἀ-  
 35 ποδῶι ἐς κήραυς. ἡ δέ κα καταδι-  
 κάσηι ὁ δικαστὰς ἐνιαυτῶι, π-  
 ραδδέθθαι τὰ τρίτρα ἢ μείον,  
 πλῖον δὲ μὴ· τῷ δὲ κρόνω τὸν δι-  
 καστὰν ὀμνύντα κρίνεν.  
 (§ 4) Αἰ δέ  
 40 κα ναεύηι ὁ δῶλος ὦ κα νικαθηῖ-

ι, καλίων ἀντὶ μαιτύρων δυῶν δ-  
 ρομέων ἐλευθέρων ἀποδεικσάτ-  
 ω ἐπὶ τῶι ναῶι [ἦ] ὀπῆ κα ναεύηι ἦ α-  
 ὑτὸς ἦ ἄλος πρὸ τούτω· αἱ δέ

45 κα μὴ καλῆι ἦ μὴ δείκσῃ, κατισ-  
 [τάτ]ω τὰ ἐ[γρα]μένα, αἱ δέ κα μηδ'  
 αὐτὸν ἀποδῶι ἐν τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι,  
 τὰς ἀπλόους τ[ι]μὰς ἐπικατ-  
 αστασεῖ.

(§ 5) Αἱ δέ κ' ἀποθάνηι μ-  
 50 ωλιωμένας τὰδ δ[ικα]ς, τὰν ἀπλ-  
 όον τιμὰν κατ(α)στασεῖ.

(§ 6) Αἱ δ-  
 ἐ κα κο[σμι]ῶν ἄγηι ἦ κοσμίοντο-  
 s ἄλλος, ἦ κ' ἀποστᾶι, μωλῆν, κ' αἶ κ-  
 α νικαθῆι, κατιστάμεν ἀπ . . σ  
 55 . . . s ἄγαγε τὰ ἐγράμενα

(§ 7) [Τὸ]ν δὲ νενικαμένο[ν] κα[ι] τὸν κα]-  
 τακείμενον ἄγοντι ἄπατον ἦμεν.

This, the first chapter of the code, deals with actions of three kinds: (1) a person admittedly a slave is claimed by two masters (*vindicatio servi*); (2) a person actually free is claimed as a slave (*vindicatio in servitutem*); (3) a person actually a slave is claimed as free (*proclamatio in libertatem*).

The following terms require more explanation than is supplied by the context:—*ἀνπιμωλῆν* = ἀμφισβητεῖν, *λαγᾶσαι* = ἀφείναι, *ἀποπωνῖοι κ.τ.λ.* = depose, *κῆρας* = χείρας.

§ 1. Neither party may lay hands on the person in dispute *pendente lite*; the fine, in the case of a free man, is ten staters, and, for a slave, half that sum. If the offender declines to yield up the person within three days, a further fine, proportioned to the time of detention, is imposed; the judge, on oath, decides how the time is to be calculated. If the offence is denied, the judge decides the matter on oath, unless a witness gives evidence.

This provision offers a curious difference from the ancient laws of Athens and Rome, where such laying hands on the object of dispute, before the matter was decided in court, was proper and legal.

§ 2. In the case where a person is claimed by one party as free, by the other as a slave, the cause of liberty is to be favoured. Where two masters each claim a slave, judgement shall go by the deposition of the witness, unless there be witnesses for either side or for neither, in which case the decision shall rest with the judge.

The prejudice in favour of liberty is paralleled in Roman law; but, in the case of a person admitted to be a slave, possession is *not* 'nine points of the law,' and the *onus probandi* is equally divided.

The 'witnesses' are not 'witnesses to any fact; they are formal witnesses to the proper performance of processual acts. Before a man can bring a case into court he has to go through certain formalities; these must be performed before witnesses, the presence of the witnesses is necessary to the validity of the acts; and their statement is the proof required by the law that the acts have been performed' (Headlam).

§ 3. The decision of the court is to be complied with within five days; otherwise an immediate fine is imposed, with an additional fine proportioned to the time of detention. But if this time exceed a year, not more than a third of the resultant fine can be exacted.

The fine being a comparatively heavy one, the result of the accumulation would soon be to exceed the value of the person in question. Consequently after a year the rate is lowered. Nevertheless the result might eventually bring about the ruin of the offender. The court apparently takes no measures to ensure respect for its decision, beyond giving the victorious party the right to distrain on the offender's property.

§ 4. If the slave take refuge in a sanctuary, the losing party himself, or another for him, shall show the rightful owner the place of sanctuary before two witnesses, freemen of full age. The fine for non-compliance as before; after a year, he is to pay in addition the value of the slave.

The losing party can free himself of his obligation by showing where his slave has taken asylum. After a year, if the slave has not been given up to the rightful owner, the loser pays his value over.

§ 5. If the slave in dispute dies during the trial, the loser pays his value to the winner.

§ 6. If a *kosmos* while in office commits the offence prohibited in § 1, or if another commits that offence against a *kosmos* while in office, the case cannot be tried until the *kosmos* lays down his office. The fine to be calculated from the day on which the offence was committed such seems to be the sense of the last sentence).

The *kosmos* (an official corresponding to the Athenian archon) could not sue or be sued while in office—another parallel with Roman law. There is a compensation in the fact that the fine is calculated from the day of the commission of the offence: thus a guilty *kosmos* or a person guilty of the offence against a *kosmos* would necessarily pay a higher fine, *ceteris paribus*, than an ordinary offender.

§ 7. It is permitted with impunity to lay hands on a debtor who has been condemned as insolvent, or on one who has given his person as security for a debt.

These two cases are apparent exceptions to § 1, but apparent only, since debtors of this kind are legally the property of their creditors. The insolvent debtor at Gortyna, as in early Attic and Roman law, was the chattel of his creditor.

### 36 [73].

#### Commercial Treaty with Phaselis: middle of fifth century B.C.

In the Museum at Athens. Στοιχειδόν. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 86; Köhler, *Erman.* vii. 159; *C. I. A.* ii. 11; Michel, *Recueil*, 6; Dittenberger, *Synlog.* 72. Comp. E. Sonne, *de arbitris externis*, p. 112, note 109; W. Judeich, *Kleinasi. Stud.* p. 98, note 1; A. Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1898), p. 204; E. Meyer, *Forsch. zur alten Gesch.* ii (1899), pp. 5 foll.

- § 1. Ἐδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δή-  
 μωι Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐπρωτάενε,  
 Ὀνάσιππος ἐγραμμάτευν, .  
 . . . . δης ἐπεστάτει, Λέων εἰ-  
 5 πει § 2. τοῖς Φασηλίταις τὸ ψήφισ-  
 μα ἀναγράφαι, ὅ τι ἂμ μεῖν Ἀθ-  
 ῆνησι ξυμβόλαιον γένηται  
 πρὸς Φασ(η)λιτῶν τινά, Ἀθινη-

- σι τὰς δίκας γίγνεσθαι παρ-  
 10 ἀ τῶι πολεμάρχῳ καθάπερ X-  
 [λοῖς καὶ] ἄλλοθι μηδὲ ἀμοῦ. § 3. τῶ-  
 [ν δὲ ἄλλων] ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν κατ-  
 [ὰ τὰς Χίων ξ]υμβολὰς πρὸς Φα-  
 [σηλίτας] τὰς δίκας εἶν[α]ι,  
 15 τὰς [δὲ ἐκκλήτ]ου[ς] ἀφελεῖν. § 4. εἰάν δὲ τ-  
 [ῶν ἀλλαχοῦ] ἂ [ρ]χ[ω]ν δ[ε] [ξ]η[τα] [ι] δ-  
 [ίκην κατὰ] Φασηλιτῶν τ[ι]νός,  
 [τούτου δ' ὀφε]ίλειν καταδικασ-  
 [θῆναι, ἢ μὲν δίκ]η ἀ[κ]υρ[ο]ς ἔστω. § 5. ε-  
 20 [ὰν δὲ . . . .] αἰ δ[ο]κ[ῆ]ι τὰ ἐψη-  
 [φισμένα, ὀφ]ε[ι]λ[έ]τ[ω] [μ]υρ[ία]s δ[ρ]-  
 [αχμὰς ἰερ]ὰs [τ]ῆι Ἀθηναίαι. § 6. T-  
 [ὸ δὲ ψήφισμα] [τ]ῶ[δε] ἀνα[γρ]α[ψ]ά-  
 [τω ὁ γραμμ]ατεὺς ὁ τῆs βουλῆs  
 25 [ε' στήλη]ι λιθί[ν]ηι καὶ καταθ-  
 [έτω ἐν πόλει] τ[έ]λεσι τοῖs τῶ-  
 [ν Φασηλιτῶν].

The date of this inscription is soon after the battle of the Eurymedon. Just before that battle Kimon had brought the city of Phaselis into the Athenian alliance, thanks to the intervention of the Chians, who were always on friendly terms with the Phaselites (Plut. *Cim.* 12).

Phaselis had offered a strenuous resistance to Kimon, being a Dorian colony and in close commercial connexion with Persian lands. It was the farthest member of the league to the East, and, lying on the highroad to Egypt and Phoenicia, enjoyed a prosperous trade, as its assessment at ten talents shows (Plut. *l. c.*; cp. Thuk. ii. 69. Demosth., *contr. Iacr.* 1 ff., describes the sharp practices of the inhabitants). It was likely that suits would arise between merchants of Phaselis and of Athens: treaties providing for such cases between the citizens of two towns were common enough (*ξυμβολαί*), and suits conducted in accordance with such provisions were *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν*. See von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in *Hermes*, xx. p. 240.

Cases arising out of business transacted at Athens are to be tried at Athens before the archon polemarch. § 3. In



other δίκαι ἀπὸ ζυμβολῶν, Phaselites were not to be compelled to come to Athens. Hesych. ἐκκλητοὶ δίκαι· αἱ ἐπὶ ξένης λεγόμεναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει. The phrase does not connote 'appeal.'

§ 4. This treaty in no way concerns disputes between Phaselites and non-Athenians: τῶν ἀλλαχοῦ (scil. γενομένων ζυμβολαίων).

§ 5. Fine threatened if the archon disobeys. The limitation was an important one for the allied city, as it limited the supremacy of Athens.

The use of the Ionic alphabet is explained by the last words of the inscription, which show that the Phaselites defrayed the expense of its being engraved.

### 37.

#### Plans for the Temple of Athena Nike : about B.C. 450-446.

Block of marble found on the north side of the Akropolis. Στοιχηδόν. Kavnvadias, Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ. 1897, p. 177, pl. 11; S. Reinach, *C. R. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* 1897, pp. 549 foll.; U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1898, no. 10, pp. 383, 384; A. Furtwängler, *Sitzungsber. d. Münch. Akad. (philos.-philol. Cl.)*, 1898, p. 380; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 911; Haussoullier, *Rev. de Phil.* 1898, p. 61; Hiller von Gärtringen, *Archäol. Anz.* 1898, p. 124; Michel, *Recueil*, 671; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 4; Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Gesch.* ii (1899), p. 118, note 1, 136.

#### First side.

..... κοσ εἶπε· [τῇ  
 Ἀθηναίαι τῇ Νίκῃ]ι ἱέρεϊαν ἡ ἀ[ν] ἀσ-  
 τῇ ἐχς ἀστῶν ἦι] ἐχς Ἀθηναίων ἁπλά[ν]τ-  
 ων καταστήσ[αι] καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν θυρώσα-  
 5 ι καθότι ἀν Καλλικράτης χσυγγράφσ-  
 ηι· ἀπομισθῶσαι δὲ τοὺς πωλητὰς ἐπὶ τ-  
 ῆς Λεωντίδος πρυτανείας, φέρειν δὲ τ-  
 ῆν ἱέρεϊαν πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καὶ  
 τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρειν τῶν δη-  
 10 μωσίων, νεῶν δὲ οἰκοδομῆσαι καθότι  
 ἀν Καλλικράτης χσυγγράφσῃ καὶ βω-  
 μὸν λίθινον.

Ἐστιαῖος εἶπε· τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἑλέσθ-  
 [α]ι ἐγ βουλῆς, τούτους δὲ μετ[ὰ] Καλλικρά-

- 15 [του]ς χσυγγράφσαντας ἐπ[ιδείχσαι τῆ-  
 ι βουλ]ῆι καθότι ἀπομ[ισθωθήσεται . .  
 . . . . . ]ῆι (vel ει), τοὺς [δὲ πρυτάνεις ἐς τὸν δῆμ-  
 ον ἐχσενεγκεῖν - - -

*Second side.*

- \*Ἐδοχσεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δῆ-  
 μωι. Αἰγιῆς ἐπρυτάνευε· Νεοκ-  
 λειδης ἐγραμμάτευε· Ἄγνῶδη-  
 μος ἐπεστάτει. Καλλίας εἶπε· τ-  
 5 ῆι ἱερεῖαι τῆς Ἀθηνάας τῆς Νί-  
 κης πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς τ[ἀ]-  
 ς γεγραμ[μ]ένας ἐν τῆι στήλ[ῃ]  
 ἀποδιδόναι τοὺς κωλακρ[έτας  
 οἱ] ἀν κωλακρετῶσι τοῦ [Ποσειδ-  
 10 εῶ]νος μηνός, τῆι ἱερ[εῖαι τῆς Ἀ-  
 θηνα]ίας τῆς Νίκης[s - - - -

The date of the inscribing of the first side of this block is fixed by the lettering to about the middle of the fifth century. The inscription on the back of the block is later, perhaps by some twenty or thirty years (it has the four-line sigma); the alphabet used down to the word Νί[κ]ης (lines 5-6) is Attic, and then the Ionic is suddenly introduced. The cause for this change is certainly obscure; we may perhaps explain it by supposing that the lapidary, at a time when he was used to the Ionic alphabet, was set to transfer to this stone a decree passed at an earlier date, and that his patience was exhausted after a few lines. Slight traces of the Ionic alphabet occur in Attic inscriptions as early as the middle of the fifth century (Meisterhans, *Grammatik der att. Inschr.*<sup>3</sup> p. 4). The cause of the passing of the decree inscribed on the back probably was that the priestess had had difficulty in obtaining her salary, owing to its not having been decided who should pay her. The payment of the priestess' salary, it is now decided, is to be made each year (ἀποδιδόναι, not ἀποδοῦναι) by the kolakretai. It is strange that some should have understood line 9 to prove that the kolakretai were officials changing with the month or prytany; of course the mention of the month is necessary merely to fix the date of the payment.

At the time when the first decree was passed, there existed only a primitive shrine, or probably even a mere altar of ashes, dedicated to the worship of Athena Nike, on the spot where the beautiful temple of the Wingless Victory was to be built and has been reconstructed in modern times. This decree provides a priestess for the cult, and arranges for the placing of a door to the hieron, and the building of a temple with a stone altar according to the specification (*ξυγγραφή*) of Kallikrates, one of the architects of the Parthenon. The salary of the priestess is eked out by the perquisites of the legs and skins of victims sacrificed in state ceremonies (we must not read τὸν δημόσιον with von Wilamowitz and Haussoullier). For the perquisites of priestesses see the decree of Halikarnassos (*Gr. Inscr. in B. M.* 895; Michel, *Recueil*, 453; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 601): θύσει τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δημόσ[ια καὶ τὰ ἰδιωτικά, καὶ λήψεται τῶν θυομένων δημοσίαι ἀφ' ἐκάστου ἱερείου κωλῆν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ κω(λ)ῆι νεμόμενα καὶ τεταρτημορίδα σπλάγχχνων καὶ τὰ δέρματα, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτικῶν κ.τ.έ. As to the temple which is to be built, it is undoubtedly the well-known temple of the Wingless Victory. The arrangement of that temple in regard to the original form of the bastion on which it stands shows that it was begun before the Propylaea. If, as some hold, the style of the frieze is post-Periklean, the completion of the temple must have been delayed, for some cause that is obscure. Yet in this case it is difficult to understand why the whole was not then altered so as to suit the new connexion of the bastion with the plan of the Propylaea.

## 38.

## Athenian Expedition to Megaris: B. C. 448-447.

Found by Fauvel in a tomb near the Acharnian gate. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 175; Kumanudis, *Ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτ.* 16 (p. 12); Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 26; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 1675; *Hermes*, xxiv (1889), pp. 92 foll.; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigrammatum*, 35; F. D. Allen, *Pap. Amer. Sch.* iv. p. 100.

Μνημα [τόδ' ἐστ' ἐ]πὶ σ[ώ]ματι κείμενο(ν) ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου

Πυθίων | ἐγ Μεγάρω(ν) δαί(ξ)ας ἐπτὰ μ(ἐ)ν ἀνδρας,

Ἐπτὰ δὲ ἀπορρήσας (λ)|όγχας ἐνὶ σώματι ἐκείνων

Ἐίλετο τὰν ἀρετὰν πατέρα εὐκ|λείζων ἐνὶ δήμωι.

5 Οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐ(σ)ωισεν Ἀθηναίων τρ||εῖς φυλάς

Ἐκ Παγᾶν ἀγαγὼν διὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας,  
 Εὐκλ|εισε Ἀνδοκίδαυ δισχιλ(ι)οις ἀνδραπόδοισιν.  
 Οὐδέ(δε)να | πημάνας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
 Εἰς Ἀἶδα κατέβα πᾶσιν μα|καριστὸς ἰδέσθαι.  
 10 Φυλαὶ αἴδ' εἰσίν· Πανδιονὶς Κεκρ||οπίς Ἀντιοχίς.

The revolt of Megara (Thuk. i. 115; Diod. xii. 5; and Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 426) took the Athenian garrison by surprise; but they succeeded in holding Nisaia and Pagai. Andokides, the grandfather of the orator, was dispatched from Athens in command of the three phylai mentioned in the text (the remaining seven were occupied with Perikles in Euboeia). While Andokides laid waste Megaris, the Peloponnesian army cut across his direct line of communications, and forced him to return from Pagai by the difficult coast-road through Aigosthena and Kreusis, and so through Boiotia homewards. It was on this march that Pythion did the service for which he is lauded in this quaintly illiterate epitaph.

## 39 [26].

## Athenian defeat at Koroneia (?): B. C. 447.

Two fragments of Pentelic marble, the one discovered on the Akropolis in 1864, the other in 1876: Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* i. p. 303; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 9, no. 27.

. . . . λέως εἶπε· Κο[ρ . .]ίδην [καὶ]  
 Θαλυκίδην καὶ Μενέστρατον [κ]-  
 αὶ Ἀθήναιον τοὺς Θεσπιᾶς ἀναγρ-  
 [ά]φσαι προχσένους καὶ εὐεργέτα-  
 5 [ς Ἀ]θηναίων καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς  
 [ἐκείνω]ν ἔμ πόλ[ε]ι ἐν στήλῃ λιθί-  
 [νηι· ἔ]οι δὲ πωλητ[α]ὶ ἀπομισθωσά-  
 [ντων τὴν στήλην. τ]ὸ δὲ ἀργύριον  
 [ἀποδόντων ἔ]οι κωλακρ[ε]ται - -

The date of the document is fixed by the characters. We may take these men of Thespiæ to be persons who stood faithful to Athens after the defeat of Koroneia, and were exiled from Boiotia for their pains. The name of the fourth betrays the Athenian sympathies of his family. The friend-

ship of Thespiæ for Athens was strengthened by a jealousy of Thebes (cp. Herod. vii. 222; Thuk. iv. 133; vi. 95). In the last line ἀποδόντων (instead of the usual δόντων) must be restored (cp. no. 37, l. 8 of reverse).

## 40 [28].

## Athenian conquest of Eubœia: Settlement of Chalkis.

## B. C. 446.

An entire slab, discovered on the Akropolis in 1876: the appearance of the stone reveals that a companion stèle originally was attached to it on the left, both being surmounted by one pediment, on which probably was the name of the γραμματεὺς, whose omission is otherwise peculiar. Στοιχηδόν. Published by Kumanudes, Ἀθῆναιον, v. pp. 76 foll.; Foucart in *Revue archéologique* (1877), i. p. 242; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), 27 a, p. 10; Egger, *Journ. des Savants* (1876), p. 448; Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i (1876), p. 184; Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* (1877), i. p. 242; Michel, *Recueil*, 70; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 17 and Add. vol. ii. p. 807; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 7. Cp. H. Schenkl, *Wiener Studien*, 1880, p. 193; Fränkel, *Att. Geschworenengerichte*, pp. 45, 51; Schöll, *Münchener Sitzungsber.* 1888, p. 4, note 2; Von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aus Kydathen* (Philol. Untersuch. i), pp. 87-96; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>, pp. 229, 230; E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alt. Gesch.* ii. p. 141; Lipsius, *Sächs. Berichte*, 1898, p. 158; Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 220. The lost stèle possibly contained the ψήφισμα relating to the ὄρκος of the Eretrians (line 42), on which model the ὄρκος of the Chalkidians was based. The inscription dates from immediately after the reduction of Eubœia (autumn 446), of which Chalkis was the key; this is not part of the δμολογία mentioned by Thuk. i. 114, but gives rather certain modifications of that δμολογία, conceded by the Athenians upon the petition of the Chalkidians.

*Heading.* Ἐδοχσεν τῆ[ι β]ουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. Ἀντιοχίς ἔ[πρωτ]-  
άνευε, Δρακ[ου]τίδης ἐπεστάτει.

§ 1. Resolution carried by Diognetos.

Διόγνητος εἶπε·

κατὰ τὰδε (τ)ὸν ὄρκον ὁμόσαι Ἀθηναίων τ-  
ῆν βουλῆν καὶ τοὺς δικαστάς· οὐκ ἐχσελῶ Χα-  
5 λκιδέας ἐχ Χαλκίδος οὐδὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀνά-  
στατον ποιήσω, οὐδὲ ιδιώτην οὐδένα ἀτιμ-  
ώσω οὐδὲ φυγῆι ζημιώσω οὐδὲ χσυλλήφσο-  
μαι οὐδὲ ἀποκτενῶ οὐδὲ χρήματα ἀφαιρή-  
σομαι ἀκ[ρ]ίτου οὐδενὸς ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθ-  
10 ηναίων, οὐδ' ἐπιψηφίῳ κατὰ ἀπροσκληττου  
οὔτε κατὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ οὔτε κατὰ ιδιώτου οὐδ-  
ὲ ἐνός, καὶ πρεσβείαν ἐλθοῦσαν προσάχσω

Oath to be  
taken by  
Athenian  
βουλή and  
δικασταί.

πρὸς βουλὴν καὶ δῆμον δέκα ἡμερῶν, ὅταν  
 πρυτανεύω, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ταῦτα δὲ ἐμπ-  
 15 [ε]δώσω Χαλκιδεῦσιν πειθομένοις τῷ δή-  
 [μ]ωι τῷ Ἀθηναίων. ὀρκῶσαι (δ)ὲ πρεσβεία-  
 [ν] ἔλθοῦσαν ἐχ Χαλκίδος μετὰ τῶν ὀρκωτῶ-  
 ν Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἀπογράψαι τοὺς ὁμόσαντ-  
 ας. ὅπως δ' ἂν [ὁ]μόσωσιν ἅπαντες, ἐπιμελ-  
 20 ὄσθων ἔοι στ[ρ]ατηγοί.—

Who are to  
 administer this  
 oath.

Oath to be  
 taken by  
 all Chalki-  
 dians of  
 age.

κατὰ τάδε Χαλκιδέας ὁμόσαι· οὐκ ἀπο[σ]τή-  
 σομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ [δ]ήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε τέ[χ]ν-  
 ηι οὔτε μηχανῆι οὐδέμῃαι οὐδ' ἔπει οὐδὲ  
 25 ἔργωι, οὐδὲ τῷ ἀφισταμένωι πείσομαι, κ-  
 αὶ ἐὰν ἀφιστῆι τις, κατερῶ Ἀθηναίοισι, κ-  
 αὶ τὸν φόρον ὑποτελῶ Ἀθηναίοισιν ἔδν  
 ἂν πείθω Ἀθηναίους, καὶ χσύμμαχος ἔσομα-  
 ι τοῖος ἂν δύνωμαι ἄριστος καὶ δικαιοῦ-  
 ατος, καὶ τῷ δήμωι τῷ Ἀθηναίων βοθηθήσ-  
 30 ω καὶ ἀμυνῶ, ἐὰν τις ἀδικῆι τὸν δῆμον τὸν  
 Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πείσομαι τῷ δήμωι τῷ Ἀθ-  
 ηναίων. ὁμόσαι δὲ Χαλκιδέων τοὺς ἠβῶντ-  
 ας ἅπαντας. ὅς δ' ἄμ μὴ ὁμόσῃ, ἄτιμον αὐτ-  
 ὸν εἶναι καὶ τὰ χρήμ[α]τα αὐτοῦ δημόσια, καὶ  
 35 τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ἱερῶ-  
 [ν] ἔστω τῶν χρημάτων. ὀρκῶσαι δὲ πρεσβε-  
 ῖαν Ἀθηναίων ἔλθοῦσαν ἐς Χαλκίδ[α] μετὰ τ-  
 ῶν ὀρκωτῶν τῶν ἐν Χαλκίδι καὶ ἀπογράψ-  
 σαι τοὺς ὁμόσαντας Χαλκιδέων.

Penalty of  
 not swear-  
 ing.

Who are to  
 adminis-  
 ter this  
 oath.

## § 2. Resolutions carried by Antikles.

The oath  
 to be  
 sworn as  
 soon as  
 possible.

Five extra  
 commis-  
 sioners.

The Athe-  
 nians will  
 retain

40 Ἀντικλῆς εἶπε· ἀγαθῆι τύχηι τῆι Ἀθηναί-  
 ων, ποεῖσθαι τὸν ὄρκον Ἀθηναίους καὶ Χαλ-  
 κιδέας καθάπερ Ἐρετριεῦσι ἐψηφίσασα-  
 ο ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων. ὅπως δ' ἂν τάχιστα  
 γίγνηται, ἐπιμελόσθων ἔοι στρατηγοί.  
 45 ὅτινες δὲ ἐχσορκώσουσι ἀφικόμενοι ἐ-  
 ς Χαλκίδα ἐλέσθαι τὸν δῆμον πέντε ἀνδρ-  
 ας αὐτίκα μάλα. περὶ δὲ τῶν ὀμῆρων ἀποκ-  
 ρίνασθαι Χαλκιδεῦσιν, ὅτι νῦμ μὲν Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις δοκεῖ ἔαν κατὰ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα, ἔ-

- 50 ὅτ[α]ν δὲ δοκῆι, βουλευσάμενοι πόησουσι τή-  
ν διαλλα[γ]ήν καθότι ἂν δοκῆι ἐπιτή[δ]ειο-  
ν εἶναι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι. τοὺς δ-  
ὲ χσένους τοὺς ἐν Χαλκίδι, ἵσοι οἰκοῦντες  
μὴ τελοῦσιν Ἀθήναζε καὶ εἴ τωι δέδοται ἵ-  
55 υπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀτέλεια, τοὺς δὲ ἄ-  
λλους τελεῖν ἐς Χαλκίδα καθάπερ ἵοι ἄλλο-  
ι Χαλκιδέης. τὸ δὲ φσηφίσμα τόδε καὶ τὸν  
ἵορκον ἀναγράφσαι Ἀθήνησι μὲν τὸν γρα-  
μμ[α]τέα τῆς βουλῆς ἔ' στήλῃ λι[θ]ίνῃ καὶ κ-  
60 αταθεῖναι ἐς πόλιν τέλεσι τοῖς Χαλκιδέ-  
ων· ἐν δὲ Χαλκίδι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ  
Ἰολυμπίου ἱη βουλή (ἱη) Χαλκιδέων ἀναγράφσασ-  
α καταθέτω. ταῦτα μὲν φσηφίσασθαι Χαλ[κ]-  
ιδεῦσιν.—τὰ δὲ ἱερά τὰ ἐκ τῶν χρησμ-  
65 ῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐβοίας θύσαι ὡς τάχιστα μετ[ὰ]  
ἱεροκλέους τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἵους ἂν ἔληται [ἱ]-  
η βουλή σφῶν αὐτῶν. ἵόπως δ' ἂν τάχιστα τυθ-  
ῆι ἵοι στρατηγὸι συνεπιμελόσθων καὶ τ-  
ὸ ἀργύριον ἐς ταῦτα [π]αρεχόντων.

Chalki-  
dian hos-  
tages.

Taxes paid  
by aliens.

How and  
where this  
decree is  
to be in-  
scribed.

Sacrifices  
in obedi-  
ence to  
χρησμοὶ of  
Hierokles.

§ 3. *Supplement to Antikles' resolutions, carried by Archestratos.*

- 70 Ἀρχέστρατο[ς] εἶπε· τ[ὰ] μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ [Ἀ]-  
ντικλῆς· τὰς [δ]ὲ εὐθύνας Χαλκιδεῦ[σ]ι κατ-  
ὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐν Χαλκίδι καθάπερ Ἀθ-  
ῆνησιν Ἀθηναίοις, πλὴν φυγῆς καὶ θανάτ-  
ου καὶ ἀτιμίας. περὶ δὲ τούτων ἔφεσιν εἶνα-  
75 ι Ἀθήναζε ἐς τὴν ἡλιαίαν τὴν τῶν θεσμοθ-  
ετῶν κατὰ τὸ φσηφίσμα τοῦ δήμου. περὶ δὲ φυ-  
λακῆς Εὐβοίας τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐπιμέλεσ-  
θαι ἵως ἂν δύνωνται ἄριστα, ἵόπως ἂν ἔχη-  
ι ἵως βέλτιστα Ἀθηναίοις.  
80 ἵόρκος.

The Chal-  
kicians to  
be inde-  
pendent in  
matters of  
jurisdic-  
tion, with  
certain ex-  
ceptions.  
The  
Euboian  
cities to be  
allowed all  
freedom  
compat-  
ible with  
the mili-  
tary safety  
of Euboa.

Line 4: the Athenians are not to deal with Chalkis as they had just dealt with Hestiaia (Thuk. i. 114), and as they had with Chalkis itself in B.C. 509-4 (Herod. v. 77). Here the βουλή, or perhaps both βουλή and δικασταί, swear as representing the whole people. Line 6: this applies rather to the

Athenian dikasts, when trying a case brought to them from Chalkis; ἀκρίτου οὐδενός is to be understood with all these verbs. Line 8: unfair sentence of death and confiscation is meant. The ultimate sovereign power is here reserved for the omnipotent δῆμος. Line 10: this applies to members of the βουλή, who are to act like Sokrates when they are πρυτάνεις, and not put to the vote an unfair ψήφισμα. Line 11: compare the sweeping decree against the Mytilenaians (Thuk. iii. 36). Line 12: envoys with petitions from subject states or others could only be introduced to the δῆμος by the πρυτάνεις, who were not always above suspicion of abusing their power by taking bribes, or by repelling unpopular applicants (Arist. *Peace*, 905; *Thesm.* 936; [Xenophon], *Resp. Ath.* iii. 3); the words κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν show that sometimes an embassy could not be introduced, owing to urgent business, or to the occurrence of a national holiday (ἐκεχειρία, Arist. *Peace*, *ibid.*). Line 20: this was the usual form of the 3rd pers. pl. pres. imp. pass. at this date (see Meisterhans, *Gram. d. att. Inschr.*<sup>3</sup> p. 168). Line 27: this shows that the subject cities could and did appeal against unfair assessment of φόρος (cp. no. 64). Line 30: a contingent from Chalkis served with the Athenians in Sicily (Thuk. vii. 57). Line 40: this is probably the same Antikles who commanded in the Samian war (Thuk. i. 117). Line 41: Kirchhoff concludes, from the use of the present tense, that Antikles' object was to repeat the oath at stated intervals, and that this had been ordered in the lost psephisma concerning Eretria. Dr. Wilhelm prefers to see in the present tense merely an indication of the long continued process of swearing in all the individual Chalkidians. The limits of time and other such conditions are to be the same as at Eretria. Lines 43, 44: from this expression, and αὐτίκα μάλα below, we gather that the δμολογία had only just been concluded with Euboeia (Thuk. i. 114). Line 46: as all the adult population of Chalkis had to swear, the five extra commissioners would be needed. Lines 47 foll.: the Chalkidians had asked for some concession as to the hostages, which was for the present refused. Lines 53 foll.: the sentence is loosely constructed, but there is no need to emend the text. The sense is: Aliens living in Chalkis,



unless they already, while inhabiting there, pay taxes to Athens or enjoy ἀτέλεια granted by the Athenian people, shall all pay taxes to Chalkis. καὶ εἴ τῳι is equivalent to καὶ ὄσοις μὴ, the negative being carried over from the previous alternative; τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους resumes the subject τοὺς χσένους. The reference is to Athenian metoikoi. Each subject state paid its φόρος in a lump sum to Athens; the local authorities raised it by an individual assessment. Lines 64 foll.: for Hierokles and his χρησμοί see Arist. *Peace*, 1043 foll.; perhaps he had received a grant of land at Oreos as a reward, upon the fulfilment of his predictions of success in the Euboian expedition: cp. the prophesings about the Sicilian expedition (Thuk. viii. 1). That such μάντεις accompanied the Athenian armies we know from no. 26. Thukydides speaks slightly (ii. 21) of these floating χρησμοί, but they were believed in by the people, and this psephisma shows that they were recognized by the state. Line 71: by τὰς εὐθύνας we must here understand punishment, not the account given by a magistrate of his office. Line 75: von Wilamowitz, who denies that ἔφεσις means more than referring to law, explains 'the heliaia of the thesmothetai' as simply the office where allies intending an action first applied, in order that their cases might be put in the hands of the proper authorities. But Lipsius (*loc. cit.*) has made it clear that ἔφεσις can have the sense of 'appeal' usually given to it. Line 80: here the formula of the oath was rehearsed in the MS. draft, but the stonecutter does not repeat it, as it has already occurred as part of Diognetos' motion.

## 41 [29].

## Athenian Colonies in Thrace: Brea, B.C. 446-444.

Two fragments of Pentelic marble, found 1833, 1847, in the Erechtheion. Στοιχηδόν. Published 1853 by Böckh, *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* p. 147, and by Sauppe, *Ber. d. Sächs. Akad.* p. 33. Kirchhoff's text, *C. I. A.* i. no. 31, is followed in the main; see too Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 19; Michel, *Recueil*, 72; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 8.

A. Decree of the people, carried by Demokleides.

(The beginning is lost).

- - - ν ἀν φα - - - -

- - - ἐσ]αγέτω. ἐὰν δὲ ἐσάγηι, ἐνεχ[υραζέ-

τω αὐτὸν] ἴο φήνας ἢ ἴο γραφσάμενος. πο[ίμνια  
 δὲ αἰγῶ]ν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντων ἴοι ἀπ[οικιστ-  
 5 αὶ καλλ]ιερῆσαι ἴο ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποικίας, [ἴο]πόσα  
 ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῆι. γεωνόμους δὲ ἴο ἐλέσθ[αι δέκα  
 ἄνδρας], ἕνα ἐχ φυλῆς. ἴοῦτοι δὲ νειμάν[των τὴν  
 γῆν. Δημ]οκλείδην δὲ καταστήσαι τὴν ἀ[ποικί-  
 αν αὐτο]κράτορα, καθότι ἂν δύνηται ἄ[ριστα. τ-  
 10 ἀ δὲ τεμ]ένη τὰ ἐχσηρημένα ἕαν καθά[περ ἔστ-  
 ι, καὶ ἄλ]λα μὴ τεμενίζειν. βοῦν δὲ καὶ π[αν]όπλ-  
 ιαν ἀπάγειν ἐς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλ[α καὶ ἐς Δ-  
 ιουύσι]α φαλλόν. ἕαν δὲ τις ἐπιστρα[τεύη ἐπ-  
 ἰ τὴν γῆ]ν τὴν τῶν ἀποίκων, βοηθεῖν τὰς πόλεις  
 15 ὡς ὄχσ]ύτατα κατὰ τὰς χτυγραφάς, ἴο ἐπὶ . .  
 . . . . .]του γραμματεῦντος ἐγένου[το περὶ τ-  
 ῶν πόλε]ων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράικης. γράφσαι δ[ὲ ταῦτα  
 ἐν στήλ]ῃ καὶ καταθεῖναι ἐμ πόλει, πα[ρασχόν-  
 των δὲ τ]ῆν στήλην ἴοι ἄποικοι σφῶν α[ν]των τέ-  
 20 λεσιον. ἕαν δὲ τις ἐπισηφίζη παρὰ τῆ]ν στήλ-  
 ην ἢ ῥῆ]τωρ ἀγορεύη ἢ προσκαλείσθαι [ἐγχειρ-  
 ῆι ἀφαι]ρεῖσθαι ἢ λύειν τι τῶν ἴο ἐψηφί[σμένων,  
 ἄτιμον] εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐχς [ἐκείνου  
 καὶ τὰ χ]ρήματα δημόσια εἶναι καὶ τῆς [θεοῦ τὸ ἐ-  
 25 πιδέκα]τον, ἕαν μὴ τι αὐτοῖ ἴοι ἄποικ[οι περὶ  
 σφῶν δέ]ωνται.—ἴοσοι δ' ἂν γράφσωντα[ι ἐποικ-  
 ῆσειν τῶ]ν στρατιωτῶν, ἐπειδὰν ἴο ἤκωσ[ι Ἰ]θήνα-  
 ζε, τριά]κοντα ἡμερῶν ἐμ Βρέαι εἶναι ἐ[ποικησ-  
 οντας. ἐ]χσάγειν δὲ τὴν ἀποικίαν τριά]κοντα ἡ-  
 30 μερῶν. Α]ισχίην δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντα ἀπο[διδόνα-  
 ι τὰ χρῆ]ματα.

### B. Rider carried by Phantokles.

[Φ]αντοκλῆς εἶπε· περὶ  
 [μ]ὲν τῆς ἐς Βρέαν ἀποι-  
 [κ]ίας καθάπερ Δημοκλ-  
 35 [ε]ίδης εἶπε· Φαντοκλέ-  
 [α] δὲ προσαγαγεῖν τὴν Ἰε-  
 [ρ]εχθηίδα πρυτανεία-  
 [ν] πρὸς τὴν βουλήν. ἐν τῆ-

[ι] πρώτηι ἔδραι. ἐς δὲ  
 40 [B]ρέαν ἐχ θητῶν καὶ ζε-  
 [υ]γιτῶν ἰέναι τοὺς ἀπο-  
 [ί]κους.

This decree, concerning an almost forgotten event (see Hesych. and Steph. Byz. s.v. Βρέα; E. Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 486, Eng. trans.; G. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 417, note 1), is the only known inscription relating to the details of the founding of a Greek colony. The ἀποικία, a colony planted amongst barbarians on foreign soil, is to be distinguished from κληρουχία, a settlement of Athenian citizens in the city and lands of an expelled Greek population, as at Hestiaia and Chalkis (see preceding), Samos, Myrina, &c. Observe that the connexion with the mother city is to be maintained by θεωρίαι and contributions to the great Athenian festivals (cp. no. 32, and the statement of the Scholiast on the *Clouds*, 386: at the Panathenaia all the Athenian colonies used to send oxen to be sacrificed); and in the division of the land at Brea certain lands are to be reserved (ἐξξηρημένα) for the endowment of temples (τεμένη). Further, it appears from B that by this colonization Perikles had in view not only the strengthening of Athens in the neighbourhood of Thrace, but also the relief of the poorer citizens (Plut. *Per.* 11). A. Line 2: certain imports had just been prohibited. Lines 4, 5: this word, if rightly restored, means the leaders of the ἀποικισμός. Line 6: so too ten men were sent to superintend the foundation of Thurioi—the Θουριομάντις of Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 332 and Schol.). Line 11: the restoration παν'οπλίαν is due to Dr. H. von Prott, who restores it with certainty from a Prienian inscription shortly to be published by him; cp. no. 64 (j) and *C. I. A.* ii. 164. Line 15: the cities of the Athenian confederacy are to defend Brea: the ζυγγραφαί are laws drawn up by persons commissioned for this purpose (ζυγγραφεῖς), and then sanctioned by the council and assembly. Line 27: Athenians on military service may give in their names as colonists, but are not to make this a mere pretext for leaving service, without going to Brea. The military service in question was probably that on which the Athenians were engaged in Euboeia in 446 B. C. Line 30: this is the ἐφόδιον, or grant of money from the home

government for the establishment of the colony: see *Introd.* to Demosth. *Cherson.*; though that concerns a κληρουχία. B. The prytaneis of Erechtheis, which was probably the next to follow, were to introduce Phantokles to the βουλή: see note on preceding, line 12 (p. 66).

## 42.

## Athenian Colony at Eretria ? B. C. 445-444.

On a marble basis at the Propylaea. Στοιχηδόν. Kirchhoff, *Berlin Akad. Abhandl.* 1873, p. 20; *C. I. A.* i. 339; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* <sup>2</sup>, 18; Lolling, *Κατάλογος τοῦ Ἐπιγρ. Μουσείου*, i. p. 67, no. 97.

Τῆς ἀποικίας]  
τῆς ἐς Ἐρ[έτριαν].

The establishment of a colony in Eretria may be connected with the expedition of Tolmides in B. C. 447 (*Diod.* xi. 88; *Paus.* i. 27. 5), or may more probably be a little later. See Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. p. 416. P. Fischer's objections to the restoration Ἐρ[ετρίαν] (he reads Ἐρ[εσον], *Quaest. de Athen. Sociis Hist.*, Bonn Diss. 1887, pp. 28 foll.) do not seem to be valid. The law that there should be the same number of letters in each line does not hold in short inscriptions of this kind. The colony in Eresos would, if he is right, be that established in B. C. 427, described by *Thuk.* iii. 50 (cp. *C. I. A.* i. 96, iv (1), p. 22, here no. 61). The object supported by the basis must have been dedicated at the time of the foundation of the colony.

## 43 [30].

List of the Quota of Tribute paid to Athena in the year  
B. C. 443.

Inscribed on the 1st of the blocks mentioned on no. 33. Στοιχηδόν. The text is given from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 237, after Köhler, *Urkunden*, &c., p. 33; cp. Böckh, *Staatsh.* <sup>3</sup> i. p. 472; ii. p. 387.

Of the series of documents to which this belongs, something has been said on no. 33. The present list has a special interest for the reason that we recognize the poet Sophokles in the last line as the chairman of the Hellenotamiai, so that his

command in the Samian expedition, B. C. 440, was not his first public appointment (Strabo, p. 638); while it was not his last, if we may believe Plutarch's story (*Nic.* 15).

The present quota-list belongs to the beginning of Perikles' supremacy at Athens. From this time onwards the disbursements for public works must have been enormous; and it used to be supposed that the expenses were met by an increase in the tribute. But the total tribute, so far as it is possible to judge from the quota-lists in their present state, remained at the Aristeidean level (see the analysis given on no. 48).

Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς δωδεκά[τ]ης ἤμ[ι] [Σ]οφιά[δ]ης ἔγρα[μμάτ]ευσεν  
Ἐλευσί(ος).

(Column 1 on the marble.)

[Ἰωνικοῦ φόρου.]

(18 lines.)

-- [Ἐρυθραῖοι  
[Βουθειῆς]  
[Πολιχνί]ται  
[Πτελεούσι]οι  
25 - [Ἐλαιούσιοι]  
[Σιδούσιοι]  
- [Μυ]ή[σσιοι]  
Πριηνή[ς]  
-- Πυγελῆς  
30 [ΔΓΓ]ΙΙΙ Ἴσινδιοι  
[Γ]Η Ἐφέσιοι  
ΗΓ Κλαζομένιοι  
Γ Μιλήσιοι

Ἑλλησποντίου φόρου.

35 ΓΓΓΓ Παλαιπερκώσι(οι)

(Column 2 on the marble.)

[Γεντί]οι  
[Δαννί]οτειχῆται  
[Ἰδνμ]οτειχῆται

5 - [Λαμπ]ωνειῆς  
-- [Δαρ]δανῆς  
-- [Ἄρ]παγιοι  
- ΓΓ Τενέδιοι  
10 - Σηλυμβριοι  
[ΔΓΓ]ΙΙΙ Σιγέ[ι]οι  
ΔΔΓΓΓ [Ἀβ]υδηνοί  
Χαλ[κ]ήδονοι  
(4 lines.)

- . . . . οἱ  
-- [Παιση]νοί  
20 ΔΓΓΓ [Περκώ]τη  
Γ Ἐλ[αι]ούσιοι  
ΗΗΗ Προ[κ]οννήσιοι  
ΓΗΗΗ Κυζικηνοί  
ΔΔΔΓΓΓ Ἄρτακηνοί  
25 Χ Περίνθιο[ι]  
ΧΓΓΔΔΓΓΓ Βυζάντιο[ι]

Ἐπὶ Θράικης φόρου.

ΔΓΓΓ Νεοπολ[ί]ται  
ΔΓΓΓ Σκ[α]φσα[ί]οι  
30 [ΔΓ]ΓΓ Σ[κ]ιάθιοι  
ΔΔΓ [Ἰκ]οι

ΔΔΔΓΓΓ|| Ὅ[λο]φύχσιοι  
 ΔΓΓΓ|| Σταγύ[ριται]  
 Η Θύσσιο[ι]  
 35 Η Διῆς ἀπ[ὸ τοῦ] Ἀθω

(Column 3 on the marble.)

Η Στρεφσαῖοι  
 [Α] Γαλήφσι[οι]  
 Α Νεοπολι[ται]  
 5 ΔΔΔΓΓΓ|| Αἰγάντιοι  
 ΗΑ Μαρωνεῖ[η]ς  
 ΑΔΓΓΓ|| Σαναῖοι  
 ΑΔΓΓΓ|| Στώλιοι  
 ΗΗ Σπαρτώλιοι  
 10 ΗΗΗ Πιεπαρήθιοι  
 ΗΗ Σίγγιο[ι]  
 Η Ἄφυτ[αῖοι]  
 ΑΔΓΓΓ|| Μη[κυπερμαῖοι]  
 Ὅ[λύνθιοι]  
 15 - - [Σκαβλαῖοι]  
 [Ἄσσ]η[ρ]ῖ[ται]  
 [Δέ]καῖα Ἐ[ρετρι.]  
 ΑΗ [Τ]ορωναῖο[ι]  
 ΗΗΗ [Ἄ]κάνθιο[ι]  
 20 Α[Η]Η[Η] [Με]νδαῖο[ι]  
 Η [Ἄργ]ῖλιο[ι]  
 ΑΗ Σκι[ωναῖοι]  
 ΔΓΓΓ|| Θρα[μ]βαῖοι  
 ΔΓΓΓ|| Φηγήτιοι  
 25 [ΗΗ]Η Αἰνεᾶται  
 Δ[ΓΓΓ]|| Φαρβήλιοι  
 ΔΓΓΓ|| Ὅθόριοι  
 [Α] [Σε]ρμυ[λιῆς]  
 ΑΗ Σ[αμοθράικες]  
 30 Χ Αἴν[ιοι]  
 ΑΗ Ποτ[ειδαῖαται]  
 ΔΔΓ Α[ἰσώνιοι]  
 - - -  
 - - -

35 [Καρικοῦ φ]ό[ρ]ου.  
 (Column 4 on the marble.)

ΓΓΓΓ|| Αἰλιῆτα[ι]  
 ΔΓΓΓ|| [Κ]αρβασυα[νδῆς]  
 Α Κεδριῆτα[ι]  
 5 ΔΔΔΓΓΓ|| [Κρυ]ῆς  
 ΔΔΔΓΓΓ|| [Χαλκει]ᾶτα[ι]  
 Α [Πα]σ[α]νδῆς  
 Η [Κ]λαύνδ[ιοι]  
 ΗΗΗ Φασηλίται  
 10 [ΑΗ] Ἰηλύσιοι  
 ΑΗ Καμιρῆς  
 ΑΗ Λίνδιοι  
 Α Τηλάνδριοι  
 [Α] Καύνιοι  
 15 - [Κ]ῶιοι  
 - - [Κι]νδυνῆς  
 - - [Ἄσ]τυπαλαιῆς  
 [Πεδ]ιῆς ἐλ Λίνδωι  
 [Καρ]πάθιοι  
 20 - - [Κερά]μιοι  
 [Κνίδ]ιοι  
 [Καρπ]άθου Ἀρκέσει(α)  
 - [Ναχσι]ῆται  
 - [Πλαγαρῆ]ς  
 (9 lines.)  
 34 ΔΓΓΓ|| - - -  
 (Column 5 on the marble.)  
 - - [Λ]ηφσανδῆς  
 [Κ]αρνανδ[ῆς]  
 Μαδνασῆς  
 5 - - [Π]ελεᾶτ[αι]  
 [Μύν]δ[ιοι]  
 [Καλ]ύδ[νιοι]  
 [Τερ]μερ[ῆς]  
 - - -  
 - - -

[Νησιωτικοῦ φόρου.]		H	[Σερίφ]ιοι
		X <sup>PH</sup> H	[Πάρ]ιοι
	- - -	25 - -	Δ[ι]ῆς ἀπὸ Κηναίου
	- -	[ΔΔΔΓΓΓ]ΓΠ	Ἀθῆναι Διάδες
		- -	Ἰ[ῆ]ται
15 H	[Μυκόνιοι]	- -	Ῥηναῖοι
<sup>PH</sup> H [ἌΔΓΓΠΠΠΠ]	[Νάχσιοι]	- -	Στυρῆς
HHH	- - - -	30 - -	[Ἐ]ρετριῆς
HHH	- - - -	- -	[Χ]αλκιδῆς
<sup>PH</sup> H	[Ἀνδριοι]	- -	[Μ]υρναῖοι
20 <sup>PH</sup>	[Καρύστιοι]	- -	[Ἡ]φαιστῆς
ΔΓΓΠΠΠΠ	[Γρυνχῆς ?]	- -	[Ἰμ]βριοι
HHHH	[Κεῖοι]	35 - -	[Α]γινηται

Σάτυρος Λευκονοεὺς χσυνεγραμ[μάτευε. Σ]ο[φ]οκλ[ῆ]ς Κολω[ν]ῆθεν  
Ἑλληνοταμία]ς ἦν.

## 44 [31].

Covenant between Oiantheia and Chaleion, and Law of  
Oiantheia : about B. C. 440.

A bronze tablet, inscribed on both sides, found at Galaxidi (Oiantheia), formerly in the Woodhouse Collection, and now in the British Museum (H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes*, 263). Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.* 356 b; Ross, *Alte Lokr. Inschr. von Chaleion*, Leipz. 1854; Kirchhoff, *Philol.* xiii. p. 1, *dan Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 144; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 322; *Imagines* (1898), p. 23; Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.* 1479; Dareste, *Rev. des Ét. Gr.* ii (1889), p. 318; Ed. Meyer, *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.* i. p. 307; Meister, *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch.* 1896, p. 19; Michel, *Recueil*, 3; Roberts, 232; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* 58; Dittenberger, *Inscr. Gr. Sept.* iii. 333.

## Obverse.

: Τὸν ξένον μὴ ἄγειν : ἔ' τὰς Χαλειίδος : τὸν Οἰανθέα μ-  
ηδὲ τὸν Χαλειέα : ἔ' τὰς Οἰανθίδος, : μηδὲ χρήματα αἶ τι' συ-  
λῶι : τὸν δὲ συλῶντα ἀνάτω' συλῆν' τὰ ξενικὰ ἔ' θαλάσας ἄγειν :  
ἄσυλον, : πλὰν ἔ' λιμένος : τῷ κατὰ πόλιν' : αἶ κ' ἀδίκω' συλῶι, : τέ-  
5 τορες δραχμαί' : αἶ δὲ πλέον δέκ' ἄμαρᾶν ἔχοι τὸ σῦλον, ἧ-  
μιόλιον ὀφλέτω Φό τι συλάσαι. : Αἶ μεταφοικέοι πλέον μηνὸς ἦ  
ὁ Χαλειεὺς ἐν Οἰανθείαι ἢ Οἰανθεὺς ἐν Χαλειῶι, τῶι ἐπιδαμῆαι δίκαι χ-  
ρήστω. : Τὸν πρόξενον, : αἶ ψευδέα προξενέοι, : διπλ-  
εῖωι θωιήστω.

## Reverse.

- 10 Αἱ κ' ἀνδιχάζωντι : τοὶ ξενοδίκαι, : ἐπωμότας : † ἐλέσ-  
 τω : ὁ ξένος : ὠπάγων : τὰν δίκαιαν : ἔχθος προξένω  
 καὶ Φιδίω ξένω : ἀριστίندان, : ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς μυαῖα-  
 ίαις : καὶ πλέον, : πέντε καὶ δέκ' ἄνδρας, : ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 μειόνοις : ἐννέ' ἄνδρας : αἱ κ' ὁ Φασστος ποί τὸν Φ-  
 15 αστὸν δικάζηται κα' τὰς συμβολάς, : δαμιωργοὺς  
 † ἐλέσται : τοὺς † ορκωμότας ἀριστίندان τὰν πε-  
 ντορκίαν ὁμόσαντας : τοὺς † ορκωμότας τὸν αὐτὸν-  
 ον † ὄρκον ὁμνύειν, : πληθὺν δὲ νικῆν.

## A.

The greater part of the obverse, down to *χρήστω*, is an agreement between the two states. The main object of these provisions is to prevent either state from injuring foreign merchants who visited the other's port; so that we have here an instance of that kind of treaty called by the Greeks *συμβολαί*, and suits tried as here provided were *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβολῶν* (see above, p. 58). *Αἱ τι' συλῶι* is for *αἱ τις συλῶη*, line 2. To understand lines 3-6, bear in mind the meaning of *σῦλα διδόναι* in Greek international law, as spoken of by Demosthenes, xxxv, in *Lacritum*, 13 and 26 (cp. arg. of the speech in *Timocr.* p. 695), and explained by Böckh, *Staatsh.*<sup>3</sup> i. 174. When one state declared war with another, it gave its own citizens the right of seizing the cargo of any vessel belonging to the citizens of the other ('letters of marque'); so Thuk. v. 115: *καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς οὐδ' ὡς ἀφέντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς, ἐκήρυξαν δὲ εἴ τις βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν Ἀθηναίους ληΐζεσθαι*. But even in time of peace, a merchant who has a dispute with another merchant of a different state (*ξένος*) may (unless the settlement of such disputes is provided for by *συμβολαί*) seek to enforce his claim by laying hands either on his adversary or some of his property (*ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν*), and it is this seizure in distraint (as well as mere freebooting), which is here expressed by the word *συλᾶν*. A court was provided, both at Chaleion and Oiantheia, before which a foreigner who had unjustly suffered seizure might get redress: certain rules for this court are



given in lines 4 foll. As regards the dialect note the use of  $\sigma\tau$  where Attic has  $\sigma\theta$ ; the form  $\muειόνοις$ ; and the frequent dropping of the aspirate, which is however inserted in  $\acute{\alpha}\gammaειν$  and  $\xi\chi\thetaος = \acute{\epsilon}\kappaτος$ . Kirchhoff warns us not to date this treaty too early: the style of speech is rude, but is characteristic of the manners of the people. The inhabitants of these regions were born freebooters: Thuk. i. 5; Polyb. xvii. 4-5.

*Translation.* 'No Oiantheian, if he make a seizure, shall carry off a foreign merchant from Chaleian soil, nor a Chaleian a merchant from Oiantheian soil; nor shall either Oiantheian or Chaleian seize a merchant's cargo within the territory of the other city. If any one breaks this rule, it shall be lawful to seize him with impunity ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\tauως$ ). The property of a foreigner may be seized on the sea without incurring the penalty, except in the actual harbour of the city. If any one make unlawful seizure, four dr. be the penalty; and if he retain the goods so seized beyond ten days, let him be fined half as much again as the amount of the seizure. If a Chaleian have sojourned over a month in Oiantheia, or an Oiantheian in Chaleion, he must (as if a  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tauοικος$ ) sue and be sued in the courts of the city of his sojourn.'

## B.

The remainder of the obverse and the whole of the reverse are inscribed in a slightly different, perhaps more recent hand. It contains provisions made by one of the two cities (presumably Oiantheia, as the tablet was found there) regulating the treatment of aliens, apparently with no special reference to Chaleion. But as these provisions are connected in significance with those of the  $\sigmaυμβολαί$ , they are inscribed on the same tablet.

*Translation.* 'The proxenos who is not true to his official position shall be fined double (the amount claimed by his client) [the sense is clear, however we attempt to explain the form  $\thetaωιήστω$ ; cf.  $\theta\omegaή$ .] If the judges in the aliens' court are divided in opinion, the foreigner who is plaintiff ( $\acute{\omicron}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\gammaων$ ) shall choose additional jurors (excluding his proxenos or private host) of the worthiest men, fifteen for claims of a

mina or more, nine for less. If a citizen proceed against a fellow-citizen in accordance with the terms of the *συμβολαί* [e. g., if an Oiantheian proceeds against an Oiantheian who has unjustly seized the property of a *ξένος*; *συμβολαί* = the above agreement with Chaleion, and probably other agreements of a similar kind], then the magistrates, having first sworn by the five gods, shall choose the jurors, worthy citizens, who shall swear the same oath, and the majority shall decide.'

## 45 [32].

## Thurioi and Tarentum: B. C. 440-430.

On a bronze spear-head found at Olympia in 1878: now at Berlin. A. Furtwängler, *Archäol. Zeit.* (1879), p. 149; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 548 (cp. nos. 548 a, 548 b); *Imagines* (1898), p. 31; Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 38; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Olympia-Inscr.* 254; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 4615; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 35; Michel, *Recueil*, 1085.

Σκῦλα ἀπὸ Θουρίων Ταραν-  
τῖνοι ἀνέθηκαν Διὶ Ὀλυ-  
μπίῳι δεκάταν.

On the founding of Thurioi see Grote, pt. 2, ch. 47; Curtius, *Hist. Gr.* ii. 487 foll.; and Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. pp. 530 foll. It was in the spring of B. C. 443. The first few years were occupied in a struggle with Tarentum, the Thurians claiming possession of all the land northward as far as, and inclusive of, the river and town of Siris, cp. Herod. viii. 62. The struggle lasted about ten years, and ended in a compromise, which showed that Tarentum had rather the advantage in the war: Strabo, vi. p. 264, φησὶ δ' Ἀντίοχος τοὺς Ταραντίνους Θουρίοις καὶ Κλεανδρίδῃ τῷ στρατηγῷ φυγάδι ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος πολεμοῦντας περὶ τῆς Σιρίτιδος συμβῆναι, καὶ συνοικῆσαι μὲν κοινῇ, τὴν δ' ἀποικίαν κριθῆναι Ταραντίνων. Comp. Th. Müller, *De Thuriorum Republica*, Gött. 1838; R. Pappritz, *Thurii, seine Entstehung, &c.*, Berlin, 1891.

## 46.

## Campaign in the Hellespont: about B. C. 440.

Slab of Pentelic marble in the National Museum at Athens. Στοιχηδόν. Kumanudes, *Ἀθήναιον*, x (1881), pp. 524 foll.; Kirchhoff, *Hermes*, xvii (1882),

pp. 623 foll. ; U. von Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xxii (1887), 243, note 3 ; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), 446 a (p. 108) ; Hoffmann, *Sylogae Epigramm. graec.* 36 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 598 ; Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. p. 221, note 1 ; Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alt. Gesch.* ii (1899), p. 20.

(a) Col. I :

- Ἐγ Χερρονήσωι  
 Ἀθηναίων ἴοιδε  
 ἀπέθανον·  
 Ἐπιτέλης στρατηγός.  
 5 Ἐρεχθίδος·  
 Πυθόδωρος,  
 Ἀριστόδικος,  
 Τήλεφος,  
 Πυθόδωρος.  
 10 Αἰγυθίδος·  
 Ἐπιχάρης,  
 Μνησίφιλος,  
 Φαιδιμίδης,  
 Λάχης,  
 15 Νικόφιλος.  
 Πανδιονίδος·  
 Λυσικλῆς.  
 Λεωντίδος·  
 Χαιρῆς.  
 20 Οἰνηίδος·  
 Ῥοδοκλῆς,  
 Εὐρύβοτος,  
 Πολίτης,  
 Ἡροκλείδης.  
 25 Κεκροπίδος·  
 Ἀρίσταρχος,  
 Καρυστόνικος,  
 Θεόμνηστος,  
 Ἀρίσταρχος,  
 30 Εὐκράτης,  
 Νικόμαχος.  
 Ἴπποθωντίδος·  
 Σωτελίδης,  
 Ποσειδίππος.

- 35 Αἰαντίδος·  
 Δίφιλος.  
 Ἐντιοχίδος·  
 Κράτων,  
 Ἐντικράτης,  
 40 Εὐδοξος.

(b) Col. II:

- Ἐμ Βυζαντίωι  
 Ἀθηναίων ἑοιδ[ε]  
 ἀπέθανον·

A similar list of twelve names belonging to ten tribes.

(c) Cols. I and II:

- ἑοιδε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 πολέμοις ἀπέθανον.

List of nineteen names of eight tribes.

(d) Across both columns:

- ἑοιδε παρ' Ἐλλήσποντον ἀπόλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἠβην  
 βαρνάμενοι, σφετέραν δ' ἐκκλείισαμ πατρίδα,  
 ὥστ' ἐχθροὺς στενάχειμ πολέμου θέρος ἐκκομίσαντας·  
 αὐτοῖς δ' ἀθάνατον μνήμ' ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν.

In Col. I, the names in ll. 15, 18, 19, 35, 36, and similarly in Col. II, l. 28, the name of Ἀρχέπολις have been subsequently inserted by another hand. For Χαιρῆς=Χαιρέας see Dr. Wilhelm's forthcoming report on the excavations at Lusoi.

This epitaph was referred by Kirchhoff to the year 408, but as others have shown, it is of an earlier date. The character of the letters suffices to prove this. The names Καρυστόνικος (i. 27) and Ναξιάδης (ii. 31—not given here) were probably given to their owners when the Athenian expeditions against Karystos and Naxos (B. C. 472-469) were fresh in men's minds; this would bring the date of the inscription down to soon after the middle of the century. We may reasonably, therefore, refer it to about B. C. 440 when, at the time of the Samian revolt, Byzantion cast off her allegiance to Athens (Thuk. i. 115, 117) and the whole of the Thracian region was disturbed (Hill, *Sources for Gk. Hist.* pp. 141, 142).

## 47 [33].

## Building of the Parthenon : B. C. 438.

The text is from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 298 (cp. iv (1), pp. 37 and 146).  
Στοιχηδόν.

Θεοί. Ἀθηνᾶ. Τύχη  
Κιχῆσιππος ἐγραμμά-  
τευε ἀγάλματος ἐπι-  
στάτησι Μυρρινούσιος.  
λῆμμα παρὰ

This inscription was never finished, but replaced by another as follows :

*C. I. A.* iv. p. 146 ; Lolling, *Δελτίον*, 1889, pp. 6, 7, n. 1 ; Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xiii (1889), pp. 171, 172, n. 7 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 558 ; Köhler, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.*, 1889, p. 223. Στοιχηδόν :

		Κιχῆσιππος ἐγ[ρ]- αμμάτευε ἀγάλ[μ]- ατος ἐπιστάτη[σ]- ι Μυρρινούσιος. [Λ]-
5	Η	ῆμμα παρὰ ταμι[ῶ]- ν, τοῖς Δημόστρα- τος ἐγραμμάτευ-
		ε Χσυπεταών ταμ- ιαί Κτησίων, Στ[ρ]-
10		ωσίας, Ἀντιφάτ[η]- ς, Μένανδρος, Θ[υμ]- οχάρης, Σμόκο[ρδ ?]- ος, Φειδελείδ[ης].

	⊖ ⊕ ⊕ ⊕	χρυσίον ἐωνήθ-
15	⊖ ⊖ ⊖ ⊖	η, σταθμόν ⊖ ⊖ ⊖ ⊖
	× × × ⊖	τιμὴ τούτου ⊖ ⊖ ⊖ ⊖
	Η ⊖ ⊖ ⊖	
	⊖ ⊖ ⊖ Η	ἐλέφας ἐωνήθη
	Η Δ Δ Δ	- - -
20	Δ ⊖ ⊖ ⊖	

This image was the chryselephantine statue of Athena

sculptured by Pheidias B. C. 438, called in another inscription given by Köhler (*C. I. A.* iv (1), no. 299 a) ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦν. The funds were supplied from the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ, of whom however only seven are named. Out of the 100 talents (line 6) received by the commissioners from the ταμίαι, 87 tal. 4652 dr. were spent on gold (weighing over 6 tal. 1500 dr.) and 2 tal. 743 dr. (or a little more) on an uncertain amount of ivory. The relation of gold to silver as expressed in this inscription was as nearly as possible 14 : 1. (Th. Reinach, *Rev. Numismatique*, 1893, pp. 13, 14.)

## 48 [35].

## List of the Quota of Tribute paid to Athena in the year

B. C. 436-435.

Στοιχηδόν. The text is given from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* vol. i. 244; *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1870, p. 108; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>1</sup>, 17 (om. in ed. 2); Michel, *Recueil*, 559.

A comparison of the various quota-lists seems to prove that the increase in the tribute formerly imputed to Perikles did not really take place. We give here the results obtained by U. Pedrolì (*I tributì degli alleati d'Atene*, p. 199, in Beloch's *Studi di Storia antica*, fasc. I, 1891, pp. 101 foll.).

Period 454-3 to 451-0	Total tribute per ann.	495 tal.	2270 dr.
„ 450-49 „ 447-6	„ „	455 „	2430 „
„ 446-5 „ 440-39	„ „	414 „	5170 „
„ 439-8 „ 437-6	„ „	436 „	3310 „
„ 428-7 „ 426-5	„ „	410 „	2980 „

To account for the statement of Thukydides that the tribute at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War was 600 talents (ii. 13), we must suppose him to be using the word φόρος in its wider sense, in which it would include both τὰ ἐκ Σάμου and the δεκάτη imposed on traffic through the Hellespont. See Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 556. In the present list the order of regions is altered, and Ionia and Karia are grouped together (see note on no. 33, p. 51). The last two headings in the list are explained by reference to the mode of making the reassessments, as described in no. 64 (see notes). Πόλεις αὐταὶ ταξά-

μεναι are cities which for some exceptional reason received the privilege of assessing themselves (see the discussion of this rubric in Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 207, note 4). Πόλεις, ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν are those whose assessment was fixed at the suggestion, not of the τάκται nor of members of the βουλή, but of private Athenian citizens who volunteered advice to the βουλή (cp. Andok. *de Myst.* 84 and note on no. 64).

Ἐπὶ [τῆς μιᾶς δεούσης εἰ]-  
 κοστ[ῆς ἀρχῆς, ἧι]  
 Φιλέ[ταιρος Θεοδ]-  
 έκτου . . . . .  
 5 ἔγραμ[μάτευε. Ἐλ]-  
 ληνοτ[αμίας ἦν Δι]-  
 ονύσιος - - - -

(Column I on the marble.)

[Ἰ]ωνικὸς φόρος.

-----	Καίνιοι	-----	[Πελεᾶ]ται
10 -----	Τηλάνδριοι	-----	-----
-----	[Π]ασανδῆς	30 -----	-----
-----	[Καρβασ]νανδῆ[ς]	-----	-----
-----	[παρὰ Κα]ῦνο[ν]	35 -----	-----
Δ ---	--- οἱ	-----	-----
15 ΓΓΓ[ΓΠ]	[Αύλι]ᾶται	-----	-----
ΔΔΔΓΓ[ΓΠ]	Μαρ[αθή]σιοι	[ΠΗΗΗ]Η	-----
ΔΓΓΙΙΙ	[Μύ]νδιοι	-----	-----
ΗΗ	[Ἀσ]τυπαλαῆς	40 -----	-----
Χ	[Λί]νδιοι	[Π]Η	-----
20 ΠΔΔΔΓ	[Πεδ]ιῆς	-----	-----
ΓΓΓΠ	[ἐγ Λίνδ]ου	- ΔΓ	-----
ΗΗΗ	[Χερρονή]σιοι	[Γ]ΓΓΠ	-----
[Δ]ΓΓΓΠ	Πῶ[ρ]νιοι	45 Η	-----
[Γ]ΓΓΓΠ	Ν[αχσιᾶ]ται	-----	-----
25 -----	Ἰ[σίνδ]ιοι	Η	-----
-----	Κ[ολοφ]ώνιοι	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----

50	-----	[Κ]αλ[ύδνιοι]
	[ΔΔΔ]Γ[ΓΓII]	Π[ιτα]ναίιοι
	[ΓI]II C	[Π]ιτα[ναίιοι ἐ]-
		πιφ[ορᾶς]
	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓ[ΓII]	-----
55	ΓIIII	-----
		ἐ[πιφορᾶς]
	-----	Π -----
	-----	Τε -----
	-----	Μι[λήσιοι]
60	[ΓH]HΓ	Ἐφ[έσιοι]
	-----	-----
	[HΓ]ΔΓΓIIII	Ἄλικαρ[νασσῆς]
	[H]	Λάτμοι[ι]
	[H]	Ἴασῆς
65	[H]	Μαδνα[σῆς]
		Νησιωτικὸς [φόρος].
	-----	Σερίφιοι
	. HH	Χαλκιδῆς
	[H]HHH	Κεῖοι
70	[HH]H	Τήνιοι
	[ΓH]HΓΔΓΓIIII	Νάχσι[οι]
	-----	Μυκόνιοι
	[ΓH]	Ἄνδριοι
	[H]HH	Σίφνιοι
75	[Δ]ΔΓ	Σύριοι
	-----	Στυρῆς
	. HH	Ἐρετριῆς
	[Δ]ΓΓIIII	Γρυνχῆς
	Γ	Ῥηναίης
80	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓΓII	Ἀθηνῆται
	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓΓII	Διῆς ἀπὸ Κηναί[ου]
	[Γ]	Ἰῆ[τ]αι
	. HHH	Α[ίγ]λυῆται
		(10 lines wanting.)
		[Ἑλλησπόντιος φόρος.]
95	ΔΔΔΓ[ΓII]	-----
	ΓH	Κ[αλχηδόνιοι]

	X	Π[ερίνθιοι]
	ΔΓΓIIII	Διδ[υμοτειχίται]
	ΔΓΓIIII	Δαυνιο[τειχίται]
100	H	Δαρδαν[ῆς]
	ΓΓIIII	Ἄζειῆς
		(Column 2 on the marble.)
	-----	-----
	(I) -----	-----
10	[HH]ΓΔΔ[Δ -	Τενέδιοι]
	ΓΓΓΓII	Δασκύλειον
		[ἐν Προποντίδι]
	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓΓII	-----
	ΓΓ	-----
15		[ἐπιφορᾶς]
	ΔΓΓIIII	-----
	ΓH	-----
	Γ (?)	-----
	ΔΔΓ	-----
20	H	[Χερρονησίται]
		[ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς]
	Γ	[Ἐλαιούσιοι]
	ΔΔΔΓΓ[ΓII]	-----
	ΔΔΔΓΓΓII	-----
25	[ΔΓ]ΓIIII	[Λαμπωνειῆς]
	ΓIIII	Λ[αμπωνειῆς ἐπιφορᾶς]
	H	Π[αριανοί]
	HHH	Π[ροκουνήσιοι]
	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓΓII	-----
30	ΓHHHH	[Κυζικηνοί]
	- HΓC	Λαμφ[σα]κηνοί
	XΓHHHΔΔΔΔ	Βυζά[ν]τιοί
	ΔΓ	Σηλυμβρια[νοί]
		Θράκιος φόρος[s].
35	ΔΓΓIIII	Γαλήφσιοι
	[Δ]ΓΓIIII	Νεοπολίται[ι]
		παρ' Ἄντισ[άραν]
	-----	[Αί]νεᾶτα[ι]



-----	[Ὀλοφύ]χο[ιοι]	H	Σαναῖοι
40 HH	[Ὀλύνθιοι]	70 H	Σίγγιοι
H	M[ηκυπερναῖοι]		
⌘	Νεοπ[ολίται]		Πόλεις αὐταὶ
	Μενδαί[ων]		ταχσάμεναι.
ΔΓΗIII	Σκαφσαῖοι	⌘	Γαλαῖοι
45 [H]	Θύσσιοι	ΔΔΓ	Σαρταῖοι
[⌘Η]⌘	Βεργαῖοι	75 H	Ἄμωργιοι
[ΔΓΗII]II	Σκιάθιοι	ΔΓΗIII	Ἐτεοκαρπάθιοι]
-----	Πεπαρήθιοι		ἐκ Καρπάθου
[ΔΓΗIII]I	Ἄργίλιοι	ΔΓΗIII	Κάσιοι
50 -----	Δικαιοπολίτ[αι]	Γ	Αἰολῖται
	Ἐρετριῶν	80 ⌘	Μιλκώριοι
[ΓΗΗ]ΗII	Σερμαῖοι	ΓΗΗΗII	Φαρβήλιοι
-----	[Δι]ῆς ἐκ τοῦ Ἄθω	[Δ]ΓΗIII	Καλλιπολίτα[ι]
-----	[Ἴκι]οι	[ΔΓΗII]II	Χεδρώλιοι
55 -----	[Σαμό]θραικες	-----	[- - - ῆ]ς
[XX]X	Θάσιοι		
-----	Μαρωνῖται	85	Πόλεις, ἄς
-----	Φηγήτιοι		ῥοι ἰδιῶται
-----	Αἰγάντιοι		ἐνέγραψαν
60 -----	Θραμβαῖοι		φόρο[ν] φέρειν.
-----	Ἄισώνιοι]	[Γ]ΗΗΗII	Κλ[ε]ωναί
-----	Ἄ[κ]άνθιοι]	90 ΔΗΗΗII	Δ[ια]κρής
-----	Στρεφσαῖοι]		[ἀπὸ] Χαλκι[δέων]
X⌘	Ἄβδηρίτ[αι]	ΔΔΔ	[Σύμη]
65 X⌘	Ποτειδεᾶ[ται]	ΓΗΗΗII	-----
ΔΔΓ	Σκαβλαῖοι	ΔΔΓ	[Σίνος]
⌘	Ἄσσηρίται		
HHH(Γ)ΗΗΗII	Σπαρτώλιοι	95 ΔΔΔΗΗΗII	-----

## 49 [37].

## Financial Administration of Perikles : B. C. 435 or 434.

A slab inscribed on both sides ; found at Kharvati (Attika), now in the Louvre. Στοιχηδόν. Kirchoff, *C. I. A.* i. no. 32 and iv (1), p. 63 ; Fröhner, *Inscr. gr. du Louvre*, p. 98 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 21 and *Add.* vol. ii. p. 808 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 75 ; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 10 ; comp. Böckh, *Staatsk.*<sup>3</sup> ii.

pp. 41-48; Beloch, *Rhein. Mus.* 43 (1888), pp. 113 foll.; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 214, note 2; E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alt. Gesch.* ii (1899), pp. 88 foll.; E. Cavaignac, *Rev. de Philol.* 1900, pp. 135 foll.

The two sides of this stone have generally been supposed to represent two different decrees; but Meyer has given reasons for supposing that they are one and the same instrument. Böckh held, on epigraphic grounds, that the inscription belongs to a period not earlier than 420 B.C., and his view, assigning the measures themselves to the same period, has more recently been accepted by Beloch, Michel, and Cavaignac. But, as the Treasure-lists (see no. 66) began in B.C. 434, Kirchoff argues with much force that this decree must have been passed the year before, viz. in B.C. 435 (see his *Bemerkungen zu d. Urkunden d. Schatzmeister d. anderen Götter*, Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad., 1864). At the same time the preponderance of datives in *-αις* and the constant use of *σύν* instead of *ξύν* show that the inscription was not actually engraved before B.C. 420. Possibly this was done some time after the troubles of B.C. 413-411, when, as we see from no. 78, it became necessary to revise the laws and otherwise record the provisions of the constitution. Although the present document contains a good deal of only temporary importance, it also contains instructions of a more permanent character, for the *tamiai* of the state and of the temples, and it would accordingly be desirable to have it engraved.

The policy of Perikles was based upon careful finance. In B.C. 438 the Parthenon was practically finished, itself a magnificent *ἀνάθημα* to Athena, and intended to be both the centre of the national festival and the Treasury of the state. The treasures belonging to Athena had been for some time managed by ten *ταμίαι* elected yearly, one from each tribe, each great Panathenaic festival (the third year of each Olympiad) marking the end of a financial period (see on no. 66, and § 14). The money-treasure was stored in the Opisthodomos of the old Athena-temple, and on the completion of the Parthenon the treasures in kind were kept in the Pronaos, Parthenon proper, and Hekatompedos (see no. 66). The lists of the Treasurers of Athena begin in B.C. 434, and present an almost perfect series for thirty years.

In the document before us we perceive the mind of Perikles, bent on investigating and reorganizing all the property of the state, and making all her resources available for national purposes. It appears that, during the military efforts of the last few years, large sums had been borrowed from the treasuries of the 'Other Gods.' In B.C. 445, however, peace had been purchased by the 'Thirty years' truce'; and, in spite of the Samian expedition in B. C. 440, a period of comparative repose had increased the Athenian resources. This decree was moved by the same Kallias, perhaps, as was killed at Potidaia in B. C. 432 while in command of the Athenian forces; Thuk. i. 63. 3; see also nos. 37, 51, 52.

(*Obverse*, § 2) It is decided to repay at once the sums due to the 'Other Gods,' a reserve of 3000 talents having now accumulated in the treasury of Athena; ἐς πόλιν = the Akropolis (Thuk. ii. 15; Plut. *Pelop.* 18; no. 40, l. 60; no. 41, l. 18).

§ 3. The repayment is to be made out of φόρος now in hand, or just coming into hand, and from the tenth which was paid on public estates let out to private persons—a tax which was farmed out (Dittenberger). § 4. Of the λογισταί we have heard in no. 33, p. 51. For the βουλή comp. Andok. *de Myst.* 15; αὐτοκράτωρ = 'without consulting the ἐκκλησία.'

§ 5. Search is to be made for all receipts and accounts, and the priests and curators of each temple are to give all information.

§ 6. A board of Treasurers is to be appointed yearly, to take charge of the treasures belonging to the 'Other Gods,' like the Treasurers of Athena: see on no. 66. They are probably ten in number, since they are to be elected 'in the same way as the Treasurers of Athena,' i. e. one from each tribe; yet in the treasure-list of B.C. 429–428 (*C.I.A.* i. 194) their number appears to have been five. The treasures consisted chiefly of gold and silver, coined or bullion, and gold and silver vessels; they were henceforward to be kept in the Opisthodomos (§ 13), and carefully registered year by year (§ 7, § 8). Next, in § 9 it is provided that what is over of the sums specified in § 3, after payment of the debts, shall be spent on the docks and the fortifications.

The opening of the reverse is mutilated<sup>1</sup>. In § 10 certain sums

<sup>1</sup> M. Héron de Villefosse has kindly provided an impression of this portion.

seem to be voted for the beautifying of the Akropolis and the furnishing of the Panathenaia. § 11. Henceforward the Treasures of Athena are to accumulate, and no sum above 10,000 drachmas may be voted even for this purpose, without a bill of indemnity. This resembles the later enactment of B.C. 431 (Thuk. ii. 24 ; cp. viii. 15) respecting the reserve fund of 1000 talents. § 12. We now pass from the Treasures of Athena to the public funds. If Kirchoff's restoration of τὰ ἐκάστοτε γινόμενα παρὰ τοῖς ταμίαισι or Christ's reading adopted in the text is right, it is ordered that the surplus of the yearly φόρος shall be deposited with the Treasurers of Athena. Yet it does *not* become the property of the goddess ; consequently it is administered by the Hellenotamiai and the 500, not by the Treasurers of Athena. § 13 has been already explained, and § 14 is plain enough. Whatever treasures of Athena are still unweighed, are to be weighed, not only by the present ταμίαι, but by all the former ταμίαι who are living and present in Athens : ἀεί is important for the sense, and more certainly right than some of the other restorations, which however we have reproduced, as giving the probable drift of the decree. The increase of the reserve which it was hoped to establish can never have come into existence, since war broke out in the summer of B.C. 433, and it is difficult to believe that any surplus can have been paid into the treasury.

*Obverse.*

1. [Ἐ]δοχσεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Μησίθεος ἐ-  
 [γ]ραμμάτευε, Εὐπείθης ἐπεστάτει. Καλλίας εἶπε· § 2. ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς  
 [τ]ὰ χρήματα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, ἐπειδὴ τῆι Ἀθηναίαι τὰ τρισχίλια τάλαντ-  
 [α] ἀνευνήγκται ἐς πόλιν, τὰ ἐφσηφίστο, νομίματος ἡμεδαποῦ. § 3. ἀποδι-  
 5 [δ]οῦναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσίν ἐστιν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφσηφισμ-  
 [έ]να, τὰ τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις ὄντα νῦν καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ ἐστι τούτων  
 [τ]ῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης, ἐπειδὴν πραθῆι. § 4. λογισάσθων δὲ  
 [οἱ λ]ογισταὶ ὅτι τριάκοντα ὅτι περ νῦν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀκρ-  
 [ιβῶ]ς, συναγωγῆς δὲ τῶν λογιστῶν ἢ βουλῆ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔστω. § 5. ἀποδόντων  
 0 [δὲ τ]ὰ χρήματα ὅτι πρυτάνεις μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐχσαλειφόντων, ἐπει-  
 [δὸν] ἀποδώσω, ζητήσαντες τὰ τε πινάκια καὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα καὶ ἐὰν π-  
 [ου ἄλ]λοθι ἢ γεγραμμένα. ἀποφαινόντων δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα ὅτι τε ἱερ-

[ἦς κ]αὶ ἴοι ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος οἶδεν. § 6. ταμίαι δὲ ἀποκναμεύει-  
 [ν το]ύτων τῶν χρημάτων, ὅταμπερ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς, καθάπερ τοὺς τῶν ἴ-  
 15 [ερῶ]ν τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας. οὗτοι δὲ ταμιεύοντων ἐμ πόλει ἐν τῷ ὀπισθ-  
 [οδ]όμῳ τὰ τῶν θεῶν χρήματα, ὅσα δυνατὸν καὶ ὄσιον, καὶ συναυγιόν-  
 των καὶ συγκληϊόντων τὰς θύρας τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου καὶ συσσημαινόςθω-  
 ν τοῖς τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας ταμίαις. § 7. παρὰ δὲ τῶν νῦν ταμιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπισ-  
 τατῶν καὶ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἴοι νῦν διαχειρίζουσ[ι]-  
 20 ν, ἀπαριθμησάσθων καὶ ἀποστησάσθων τὰ χρήματα ἐναντίου τῆς βουλ[ῆ]-  
 s ἐμ πόλει καὶ παραδεχσάσθων ἴοι ταμίαι ἴοι λαχόντες παρὰ τῶν νῦν  
 ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφσάντων (μ)ῖαι ἅπαντα καθ' ἕκαστόν τε  
 τὸν θεὸν τὰ χρήματα ὅποσα ἔστιν ἐκάστω καὶ συμπάντων κεφάλαιο-  
 ν, χωρὶς τό τε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον. § 8. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναγραφόντων  
 25 ἴοι αἰεὶ ταμίαι ἐς στήλῃν καὶ λόγον διδόντων τῶν τε ὄντων χρημάτων  
 καὶ τῶν προσιόντων τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἕαν τι ἀ[π]αναλίσκηται κατὰ τὸν ἐ-  
 νιαυτὸν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς καὶ εὐθύνας διδόντων, καὶ ἐκ Παναθηναί-  
 ων ἐς Παναθήναια τὸν λόγον διδόντων, καθάπερ ἴοι τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίας τ-  
 [α]μιεύοντες. τὰς δὲ στήλας, ἐν αἷς ἂν ἀναγράψωσι τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἱερ-  
 30 [ά, θέ]ντων ἐμ πόλει ἴοι ταμίαι. § 9. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀποδοδεμένα ἦι τοῖς θεοῖς  
 [τὰ χρ]ήματα, ἐς τὸ νεώριον καὶ τὰ τείχη τοῖς περιούσι χρῆσθαι χρήμασ-  
 [ω].

## Reverse.

§ 10. - - - - -

. . . . τὰ λίθ[ινα] καὶ τὰς Νί[κας] τὰς χρυ[σῆς] καὶ τὰ π[ομπεία] . . . . .  
 35 . . . . . ἐπεὶ παντελῶς . . . . . εἰ . ρεσ . α τα π[ομπεία] ἀνερέχθ-  
 η τῆι θεῶι κ[ατὰ] τὰ ἐψηφισμένα ἐπ[ὶ] τὴν ἀκρόπολιν . . . . .  
 . . . καθιστ[άμενα] καὶ ἐπ[ὶ] . . . . . ἐπ[ὶ] Π[ερικλ[έου]ς(?) . . . . .  
 . . . . . ἕκαστ[α] Ἑλλ[ηνοταμίαι] καὶ ἐπισκενα[ζόντων] αὐτὰ  
 40 μετὰ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν τ[ῶν] αἰ[εὶ] ὄντων, ἴοι [δὲ] ταμίαι [τ]ὰ [χρήματα] μερι-  
 ζόντων μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων . . . ὥσπερ τοῦ[ς] πρ . . . . .  
 . . . . . λεσ . . μετὰ τῶ[ν] ἐπιστ[ατῶν] ὅπως ἄριστ[α] καὶ κάλλισ-  
 τα κοσμηθ[ήσεται] ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἐπισκευασθ[ήσεται] τὰ πομπε-  
 ῖα. § 11. τοῖς δ[ὲ] ἄλλοις χρήμασ[ω] τοῖς τῆς Ἀθηναίας, τοῖς τε νῦν οἶσιν ἐ-  
 μ πόλει κα[ὶ] ἄτ[τ'] ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναφέρηται, μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδὲ ἀπανα-  
 λίσκειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐς ἄλλο [τι, μηδὲ] ἐς ταῦτα ὑπὲρ μυ[θρίας] δραχμὰς  
 45 δοῦναι κελεύειν, ἕαν τι δέ[η]· ἐς ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν χρῆσθαι τοῖς χρήμασ-  
 ων, ἕαν μὴ τῆν ἄδειαν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος ἕανπερ ἡ [ψηφισ]ος δίδωτ-  
 αι περὶ ἐσφορᾶς. ἕαν δὲ τις [εἴπη] ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ μὴ ἐψηφισμένης  
 πω τῆς ἀδείας χρῆσθαι τοῖς χρήμασ[ω] τοῖς τῆς Ἀθηναίας, ἐνεχέσ-  
 θω τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἴοιςπερ ἕαν τι (?) ἐσφ[έ]ρειν εἴπη ἢ ἐπιψ[ηφίση]. § 12. ἐκ δ-

50 ἐ τῶν φόρω]ν κατατιθέναι κ[ατὰ τὸ]ν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἑκά[στοτε περιό-  
 ντα παρὰ τ]οῖς ταμίαισι τῶν [τῆς Ἰ]θηναίας τοὺς Ἑλληνο[ταμίαις. § 13. ἐπει-  
 δὴν δὲ ἐκ τῶ]ν διακοσίων ταλάντω]ν, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐφ[σῆφισται ἴο  
 δῆμος τοῖς] ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἀ[ποδοθῆ]μι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, τα[μεινέσθω τὰ  
 μὲν τῆς Ἰ]θηναίας χρήματα [ἐν τῶ]ι ἐπὶ δεχσιὰ τοῦ ὀπισ[θοδόμου, τὰ δὲ τ-  
 55 ὦν ἄλλων θ]εῶν ἐν τῶ]ι ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ά.  
 § 14. ὅποσα δὲ τῶ]ν χρημάτων τῶν [ἱερῶ]ν ἄστατά ἐστιν ἢ ἀν[ἀριθμα, ταῦτ-  
 α ἀριθμῆσα]ι νῦν μετὰ τῶν τ[εττάρ]ων ἀρχῶν, ἃ ἐδίδο[σαν ἀεὶ τὸλ λό-  
 γον ἐκ Παν]θηναίων ἐς Πα[ναθη]νῶν, ἴοποσα μὲν χρυ[σᾶ ἐστιν ἢ ἴοπό-  
 σα ἀργυρᾶ] ἢ ὑ[π]άρ[γ]υρα, στή[σαντας - - - - -

## 50 [38].

## Athenian administration of the Delian Temple.

B. C. 434-432.

See Böckh (*Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1834), *Erklärung einer Attischen Urkunde über das Vermögen des Apollinischen Heiligthums auf Delos*; *C. I. A.* i. 283; Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* viii. p. 283; V. von Schoeffer, *de Deli ins. rebus* (Berliner Studien, ix. 1889), p. 29. The marble should be at Athens, but Dr. Wilhelm writes that neither Lolling nor himself has been able to find it.

The first six lines are sadly broken, but they seem to contain proper names, Διόφ[αντος] or Διοφ[άνης], [N]εάνθης or [Κλ]εάνθης, Βουλακλήης, Δημοθάλης, Ἀναξίδημος. These are the Athenian board (elsewhere styled Ἰθηναίων Ἀμφικτύονες) who were a kind of Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the management of the property of the Delian temple. The temple was more or less under Attic influence from the foundation of the Athenian alliance (B.C. 477): but the direct control of it was undertaken by them in B.C. 426, when the Athenians 'purified' Delos and re-established the Delian festival (Thuk. iii. 104). In B.C. 422 they expelled the Delians and occupied the island with kleruchs; but the next year they restored their lands (Thuk. v. 1. 32), and retained only the temple, allowing the natives some part in the administration of the Sanctuary (see no. 76). After the defeat at Aigospotamoi of course the Delians claimed their own temple once more (see nos. 83 and 104). The date of the inscription is fixed by the Athenian archons Krates and

Apseudes. The alphabet used is the Ionic, as in no. 76. Copies of these inscriptions existed at Delos, and some of them have been published by Homolle (*Bull. Corr. Hellén.* viii. pp. 282 foll.). The inscription goes on—

§ 1. Lines 7-9. - - παρὰ Δηλίων ὀφειλόντων - - | - - ] ἐγένετο καὶ αἱ παρα[- - | - κεφάλαιον ἀργυρίου] σύμπαν ΜΡΗΗΗΗΔ - - (55410 *dr.* or more.)

§ 2. Lines 10-15. - - σιον τὸ βαλανεῖον ὄρισαν τ[ό? - - | - - ὠικοδόμησαν, τὴν ῥήνειαυ ὄρισαν αν - - | - - ἐδάνεισαν ΜΤΤΤΤΔΔ ἐπιδικάτοις τόκοις πέντε ἔτη, ὥστε ἀποδιδόναι τοῦ]s δανεισαμένους ΑΤΤΤΧΧΧΔ[ΔΔ, τό τε ἀρχαῖον καὶ τοὺς τόκοις ὦν | ἐδα]νεύσαντο. χρόνος ἀρχει Μεταγειτυιῶν μῆν Ἀθήνη[σι]ν ἀρχοντος Κράτητος (B. C. 434-433), | ἐν] Δήλῳ δὲ Βουφονιῶν μῆν ἀρχοντος Εὐπτέρους.

§ 1 appears to refer to the recovery of loans due to the temple; cp. no. 104.

§ 2 refers partly to the measuring and marking of the boundary of certain sacred lands and properties; and the lending of moneys. A few figures will prove Böckh's restorations true. Capital lent 9 *tal.* 20 *dr.* = 54020 *dr.*; which at  $\frac{1}{10}$ th interest, ἐπιδεκ[άτοις τόκοις] (= 10 p. c.) yields 5402 *dr.* yearly. For five years this equals 27010 *dr.*: add capital, and you get 81030 *dr.* = 13 *tal.* 3030 *dr.*

§ 3. Lines 16-20. [Τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐν Δήλῳ τὴν | ἱερὰν ἐμίσθωσαν καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ [- - δέκα ἔτη. χρόνος ἀρ-]χει Ποσιδηῶν μῆν Ἀθήνησι ἀρχοντος Κράτητος (B. C. 434-433), ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Ποσιδηῶν μ[ῆ]ν ἀρχοντος Εὐπτέρους, ὥστε ἀποδιδόναι τὴν μίσθωσιν ἀπάντων τούτων τοὺς μεμ[ι]σθωμένους κατὰ τὰς ξυγγραφάς. μισθώσεως κεφ[άλαιον τοῦ μὲν πρώτου ἔτους] | ΜΗΗΗΔΓΓ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐτῶν ΜΗΗΗ - -

§ 4. Lines 20-24. [τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐν Ῥηνεῖ]αι τὴν ἱερὰν ἐμίσθωσαν δέκα ἔτη. χρόνος [ἀρχει Ἀθήνησι]ν Γαμηλιῶν] | μῆν ἀρχοντος Ἀψεύδους (B. C. 433-432), ἐν Δήλῳ Ἱερὸς [μῆν ἀρχοντος - -] | ρου, ὥστε ἀποδιδόναι τὸν μεμισθωμέ[νον ἐκάστου τοῦ ἔτους τὴν μισθ]ωσιν ΤΧΗΔ.

In § 3 the leases of temple lands in Delos are recorded, in § 4 the lease of temple lands in Rheneia. The 'Holy' Month is known to answer to the latter part of Gamelion and

the earlier part of Anthesterion in the Attic calendar (see Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* v. pp. 29, 30).

§ 5. Lines 24-25. Τὴν θάλατταν τὴν πο - - | - - τὴν ἐν  
'Ρηνείαι ἐμίσθωσαν δέκα [ἔτη . . .]

This is the lease of a fishery belonging to the Temple: so Strabo speaks (p. 642) of the fisheries of the Ephesian Artemis; cp. Pausanias (i. 38. 1) about the salt streams called 'Ρειτοί sacred to the Eleusinian deities.

### 51 [39].

#### Treaty between Athens and Rhegion. B. C. 433-432.

In the British Museum. Στοιχηδόν. See *Greek Inscr. in the B. M.* no. v; *C. I. A.* i. 33, and iv (1), p. 13; Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* vol. 33 (1877), p. 384; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 25; R. von Scala, *Staatsverträge*, i. p. 50, no. 67 (x); Roberts-Gardner, ii. 12; cp. Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, iii. pp. 21, 616.

[Θεοί. Πρέσβεις ἐκ 'Ρηγίου, ἑοὶ τὴν χυμμαχίαν  
[ἐποίησαντο καὶ τὸν ὄρκον] Κλέανδρος Χσεν-  
[. . . . ., . . . . .] τίνου, Σιληνὸς Φώκου,  
[. . . . . 'Επ' 'Αφ]σεύδους ἄρχοντος κ-  
5 [αὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἣνι Κριτιάδης πρῶτος ἐγραμμ-  
[άτενε, . . ἔδοχσεν τῆι βου]λῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι. 'Α-  
[καμαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Χ]αρίας ἐγραμμάτευ-  
[ε, Τιμόχσενος ἐπεστάτ]ει. Καλλί-  
[ας εἶπε' χυμμαχίαν εἶν]αι 'Αθηναίοις καὶ  
10 ['Ρηγίνοις. τὸν δὲ ὄρκον] ὁμοσάντων 'Αθηνα-  
[ίοι κατὰ τάδε' ἔσται πι]στὰ καὶ ἄδολα καὶ ἑ-  
[απλᾶ ἅπαντα τὰ ἀπ' 'Αθην] (α)ίων 'Ρηγίνοις κα-  
[ὶ . . . . . καὶ χσύμ]μαχοι ἐσόμεθα πισ-  
[τοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ἰσ]χυροὶ καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς  
15 [. . . . . καὶ] ὠφελήσομεν . . . .

From the identity of the names of the mover &c. it follows that this and the following Treaty were concluded on the same day. Kallias would seem to be the same person who moved the decree no. 49. For the subject, see Thuk. iii. 86, who speaks of the first interference of Athens in Sicilian affairs B.C. 427: οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Λεοντῖνοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις καθέστασαν. ζύμμαχοι δὲ . . . . . τοῖς Λεοντῖνοις . . . 'Ρηγῖνοι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντῖνων. ἐς οὖν τὰς 'Αθήνας πέμψαντες



οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι κατὰ τε παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν πείθουσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμψαι σφίσι ναῦς κ.τ.λ. Gorgias of Leontinoi was one of the envoys on that occasion. Our inscription probably gives the 'old standing treaty' referred to by Thukydides (see Grote, ch. 57). The Korkyraian expedition excited among the Sicilians the hopes of an Athenian alliance, and Korkyra itself was regarded by the Athenians as a convenient stepping-stone to Sicily (Thuk. i. 36, 44). Hence the embassies with which this and the following inscription are concerned. We see from Thuk. vi. 44-46 that the Rhegines did not receive the Athenians in a very friendly way on the occasion of the Sicilian expedition, although they were supposed to be ἐπιτήδειοι.

## 52 [40].

## Treaty between Athens and Leontinoi: B. C. 433-432.

Discovered near the Dionysiac Theatre at Athens. Στοιχῆδόν. Kumanudes in Ἀθήναιον, v. pp. 422 foll.; Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* 1877, i. pp. 384 foll. = *Mél. d'Épigr. gr.* pp. 22-29; *C. I. A.* iv (1), 33 a (p. 13); Michel, *Recueil*, 4; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 24; R. von Scala, *Staatsverträge*, i. p. 50, no. 68 (xi); Roberts-Gardner, ii. 13; cf. Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, iii. pp. 7, 19, 616. Several small fragments of this inscription, hardly allowing of restoration, are still unpublished.

[Θε]οί. Πρέσβεις ἐγ Λεον[τ]-  
 ἴνων, ἵοι τῆγ χσυμμαχί-  
 αυ ἐποήσαντο καὶ τὸν ἵ-  
 ὄρκον· Τιμήνωρ Ἀγαθοκ-  
 5 λέους, Σῶσις Γλαυκίου, Γέ-  
 λων Ἐχσηκέστου, γραμμα-  
 τεὺς Θεότιμος Ταυρίσ-  
 κου. Ἐπ' Ἀφσεύδους ἄρχουτ-  
 ος καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἵηι Κρ-  
 10 ιτιάδης ἐγραμμάτευε,  
 ἔδοχσεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ  
 τῶι δήμωι. Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐ-  
 πρυτάνευε, Χαρίας ἐγρ-  
 αμμάτευε, Τιμόχσενος  
 15 ἐπεστάται. Καλλίας ἐ-  
 ἵπε· τῆμ μὲν χσυμμαχία-

ν εἶναι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ  
 Λεοντίνοις καὶ τὸν δ[ρ]-  
 κο[ν] δοῦναι καὶ δέχσα[σ]-  
 20 θαι. ὁμός]αι δὲ Ἀθηνα[ί]-  
 ους τάδε· χσύμμαχ]οι ἐσ[όμ]-  
 εθα - -

See preceding inscription, and notes.

### 53 [41].

#### Expenses of the Expedition to Korkyra : B. C. 433-432.

Στοιχηδόν. Kirchoff, *C. I. A.* i. 179; cp. iv (x), p. 30; Böckh's *Kleine Schriften*, vi. p. 72; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 26; Michel, *Recueil*, 560. Comp. Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* 1877, ii. p. 388 = *Mél. d'Épigr. gr.* p. 26; Müller-Strübing, *Aristoph.*, &c. (1873), pp. 598, 600, note \*\*; Stahl, *Rh. M.* xl. p. 439; Nissen in Von Sybel's *Hist. Zeitschr.* N.F. xxvii (1889), pp. 398, 402; Droysen, *Hermes* (1875), pp. 1 foll.; M. Niedermann, *Rev. de Phil.* 1897, pp. 167 foll.; Kolbe, *Hermes*, 34 (1899), 388.

Ἐπι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀν[ήλ]ωσαν ἐς Κόρκ[υ]ραν τάδε. Ἐπι Ἀ-  
 φσεύδους ἄρχο]ντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥη Κ[ρι-  
 τιάδης Φαείνου] Τειθράσιος πρῶτος ἐγγραμμά-  
 [τενε, ταμίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναία-  
 5 [ς . . . . . ἐκ Κερ]αμέων καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, ἵοις  
 [Κράτης Ναύτ]ωνος Λαμπρεὺς ἐγγραμμάτενε,  
 [παρέ]δοσαν στρατηγοῖς ἐς Κόρκυραν τοῖς  
 [πρώτοις ἐκ]πλέουσι, Λακεδαιμονίωι Λακιά-  
 [δην, Πρωτέαι] Αἰχσωνεῖ, Διοσίμωι Εὐωνυμεί,  
 10 [ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαν]τίδος πρυτανείας πρώτης πρυ-  
 [τανευούσης, τ]ρεῖς καὶ δέκα ἡμέραι ἐσεληλυ-  
 [θυίας ἦσαν . .] ΠΤ  
 Ἐπι Ἀφσεύδους] ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς,  
 [ἥη Κριτιάδης] Φαείνου Τειθράσιος πρῶτος ἐ-  
 15 [γγραμμάτενε, ταμ]ίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀ-  
 [θηναίας, . . . . .]ης Ἐρχιεὺς καὶ χσυνάρχον-  
 [τες, ἵοις Εὐθίας Αἴ]σχρωνος Ἀναφλύστιος  
 [ἐγγραμμάτενε, παρέ]δοσαν στρατηγοῖς ἐς Κόρ-  
 [κυραν τοῖς δευτέρ]οις ἐκπλέουσι, Γλαύκωνι  
 20 [ἐκ Κεραμέων, Μεταγ]ένει Κοιλεῖ, Δρακοντί-  
 [δην Βατήθεν, ἐπὶ τῆς] Αἰαντίδος πρυτανείας  
 [πρώτης πρυτανευούσης] τῆι τελευταίαι ἡμέ-  
 [ραι τῆς πρυτανείας (?) - - -]

The restoration of the number of the prytany in line 22 is uncertain; *πρώτης*, *τρίτης*, *δγδόςης*, and *ένάτης* are all possible so far as space goes, but Thukydides' account puts the last two out of court.

This expedition is described by Thuk. i. 45. 51. The arrival of the reinforcements in the nick of time just prevented a disaster. The story is misrepresented by Plutarch (*Pericl.* 29). Perikles would doubtless have sent a larger fleet at first, but he desired to avoid an appearance of aggression. Thukydides names Andokides son of Leogoras (who would be not the orator, but perhaps his grandfather) as if he were Glaukon's only colleague. The marble (for the restorations adopted, see Müller-Strübing, *loc. cit.*) names Glaukon, Metagenes, and Drakontides. Either Thukydides makes a slip, or Andokides was unofficially attached to the expedition, or, again, the name *Ἀνδοκίδης* is a manuscript corruption of *Δρακοντίδης*. If so, since the name Leogoras seems to belong to the family of Andokides, that name also must have been wrongly inserted in the text of Thukydides. The Drakontides who figures afterwards as one of the 'Thirty tyrants' (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. § 2) was *Ἀφιδναίος*, and cannot be identified with the present general.

## 54 [42].

## Athenian victory before Potidaia: B. C. 432.

The marble is in the British Museum. *Στοιχηδόν. Gr. Inscr. in the Br. Museum*, xxxvii; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* 442; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* no. 21; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 34; Bury, *Hist. of Gr.* p. 393. The first three lines of the poem are past restoration: the λ in l. 7, which Kaibel supposes to have been misread, is quite certain, and the restoration *ἐλ[υθεν]* = *ἐλύθησαν* is due to the kindness of Dr. Otto Benndorf. Originally the marble was surmounted with a relief representing a battle scene. Since Fauvel first copied the inscription, several letters have been lost, which are here given in brackets in lines 2, 3.

Ἐμ Ποτ[ειδαίαι ἑοίδε ἀπέθανον - - *cp. heading of nos. 26 and 46]*

Ἄθανάτ(όμ με θα)[νοῦσιν - - - -

σημαίνειν (ἀρετ)[ῆν - - - -

καὶ προγόνους (θενεσ ?) - - - -

5 *νίκην εὐπόλεμο μνημ' ἐλ[αβον σ]φ[έτερον].*

Αἰθῆρ μὲμ φσυχὰς ὑπεδέχσατο, σῶ[ματα δὲ χθῶν]  
 τῶνδε· Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔλ[υθεν].  
 ἔχθρων δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχουσι τάφου μέρος, ἴ[οι δὲ φυγόντες]  
 τεῖχος πιστοτάτην ἔελπίδ' ἔθεντο [βίου].

---

10 Ἄνδρας μὲμ πόλις ἴηδε ποθεῖ καὶ δῆ[μος Ἐρεχθέως],  
 πρόσθε Ποτειδαίας ἴοι θάνον ἐμ προμάχοις],  
 παῖδες Ἀθηναίων φσυχὰς δ' ἀντίρρο[πα θέντες]  
 ἠ[λλ]άχσαντ' ἀρετὴν καὶ πατ[ρίδ'] εὐκλ[έισαν].

---

The restorations are from the earlier editors, and are pretty certain. The poem is in three separate portions, and closely accords with the narrative of Thuk. i. 63: ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τάχους ἢ νίκη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγίγνετο . . . . πάλιν ἐπανεχώρου ἐς τὸ τεῖχος . . . . μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τροπαίου ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς Ποτειδαίαιταις· ἀπέθανον δὲ Ποτειδαίαιτῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ στρατηγός.

PART III  
PELOPONNESIAN WAR

B.C. 431-404.

55 [36].

The Plague of B. C. 430-429.

On a statue-base found *in situ* during the excavation of the Propylaia: cp. Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. 188; Kirchoff, *C. I. A.* i. 335; Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 389 foll.; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ii. pp. 277 foll.; Löwy, *Inscr. Griech. Bildhauer*, 53; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 585; Lolling, *Κατάλογος τοῦ ἐν Ἀθ. Ἐπιγρ. Μουσείου*, i. p. 66, no. 96; Michel, *Recueil*, 1020.

Ἀθηναῖοι τῆι Ἀθηναίαι τῆι Ὑγείαι.  
Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος.

Plutarch shall tell us the current story of this statue (*Pericl.* 13): τὰ δὲ Προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐξεργάσθη μὲν ἐν πενταετίᾳ (B. C. 437-433) Μησικλέους ἀρχιτεκτονούντος· τύχη δὲ θαυμαστὴ συμβᾶσα περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐμήνυσε τὴν θεὸν οὐκ ἀποστατοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ συνεφαπτομένην τοῦ ἔργου καὶ συνεπιτελοῦσαν. ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργότατος καὶ προθυμότατος τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀποσφαλεῖς ἐξ ὕψους ἔπεσε καὶ διέκειτο μοχθηρῶς, ὑπὸ τῶν λατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος. ἀθυμούντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ θεὸς ὄναρ φανεῖσα συνέταξε θεραπείαν, ἣν χρωμένος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχὺ καὶ ῥαδίως λάσατο τὸν ἀνθρώπον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ὑγείας Ἀθηναῖς ἀνέστησεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, ὃς καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν. But there are grave reasons against accepting this picturesque story, one being that the basis is so placed that it cannot have been set up while the Propylaia were still building. It was perhaps set up after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, in commemoration of the cessation of the plague of B. C. 430-429

(P. Wolters, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xvi (1891), pp. 153 foll.). Pliny, *N. H.* xxii. 44, gives a quite different account, connecting the accident with the building of a temple, evidently the Parthenon, and with another statue, that of the 'Splachnoptes' by Styppax (cf. xxxiv. 81); but in xxxiv. 80 he mentions statues of Hygieia and Minerva by Pyrrhos (not Hygieia Minerva, see *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* xix. p. 167). Perikles, if Plutarch's account is to be trusted, fulfilled his vow in the name of the Athenian people.

## 56.

Lykia after the Expedition of Melesandros : about  
B. C. 430-420.

On the NE. side of the shaft of the monolithic heroön known as the Xanthian Stele at Xanthos in Lykia; the rest of the monument is covered with inscription in the Lykian alphabet. Fellows, *Discoveries in Lycia* (1840), pp. 168 foll.; other references are given by Imbert, *Revue des Études Grecques*, vii (1894), pp. 267 foll. The latest discussion of this monument and of the Greek portion of the inscription is by O. Benndorf, in his admirable article in the *Jahreshefte des österr. Archäol. Inst.* iii (1900), pp. 98 foll.

- [Ἐ]ξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην [Ἀ]σίας δίχα πόλυ[τ]ος ἐνεμ[ε]ν,  
 [ο]ὔδεις πω Λυκίων στήλην τοιάνδε ἀνέθηκ[ε]ν  
 [δ]ώδεκα θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐν καθαρῶι τεμένει,  
 [νικ]έων καὶ πολέμου μνῆμα τόδε ἀθάν(α)τον.  
 5 [ . . . ]ις ὅδε Ἀρπάγου υἱὸς ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα  
 [χ]εῖρσιν πάλην Λυκίων τῶν τότε ἐν ἡλικίαι.  
 [πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλεις σὺν Ἀθηναίαι πτολιπόρθωι  
 [π]έρας συνγενέσι δῶκε μέρος βασιλέας.  
 ὦν χάριν ἀθάνατοί οἱ ἀπεμ(ή)σαντο δικαίαν.  
 10 ἐπτά δὲ ὀπλίτας κτείνεν ἐν ἡμέραι Ἀρκάδας ἄνδρας,  
 Ζηνὴ δὲ π(λ)είστα τροπαῖα β(ρ)οτῶν ἕ(σ)[τ]ησεν ἀπάν[τ]ων,  
 καλλίστοις δ' ἔργοις Κα[ρ]ίκα γένος ἔστεφάνωσεν.

Line 1. Taken verbatim from the 'Simonidean' epigram εἰς τοὺς μετὰ Κίμωνος στρατευσαμένους ἐν Κύπρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε τὰς ῥ' ναῦς τῶν Φοινίκων ἔλαβεν, i. e. at the battle of the Eurymedon (*Anthol. Pal.* vii. 296, cp. *Diod.* xi. 62. 3).

Line 5. The name of the Harpagid is unfortunately mutilated, but there is little doubt that it corresponded to the Lykian name Käräi, which may have been represented in Greek by some such name as Karinis or Karnis. This dynast is known from his coins (*Brit. Mus. Catal., Lycia, &c.*, pp. xxxv and 22) to have been ruler of Xanthos and possibly also of Antiphellos. The most important of his coin-types is a head of Athena (cp. l. 7), and the tiara on the conventional satrap's head which serves as his portrait is sometimes decorated with a laurel-wreath. We know that the Harpagid of our inscription was a βασιλεύς.

Line 6. *πάλην*, the traditional reading, is perhaps to be preferred to *παλήν* for *βαλήν* or *βαλλήν* = βασιλεύς, cf. Aischylos, *Pers.* 660; it is true that *χερσί* is otiose, but the style of the whole poem cannot be called subtle.

Line 8. βασιλέας with synizesis for βασιλείας.

Line 10. For the feat compare no. 38. The Arkadians must have been mercenaries. Probably the poet originally wrote *κτάν'* rather than *κτείνεν*.

Line 12. *Καρίκας* is a name also known from coins (*Brit. Mus. Catal., Lycia, &c.*, pp. xxxvi and 23) as having belonged to a dynast (Käriga) of Xanthos and Antiphellos; but as this dynast is later than Käräi, he cannot be identified with the ancestor mentioned in the poem.

All the evidence points to the dating of this monument, or rather of the events which made its hero's fame, shortly after the revolt of Samos. The Lykians appear as tributaries of Athens in the quota-list of B. C. 446-445, but are absent in the practically complete list of B. C. 441-440. In B. C. 430-429 came the disastrous expedition of Melesandros into Lykia (*Thuk.* ii. 69; the name of this general can be deciphered in the Lykian text of the monument, together with other names such as Artaxerxes, Tissaphernes, Ionians, Spartans, Athenians). These events point to the successful reaction of the Lykian rulers against the Athenian influence which had set in with Kimon's victory at the Eurymedon. Benndorf notes acutely that the irony of this reaction is expressed by the borrowing of the initial verse from the very epigram which celebrated Kimon's victory.

## 57 [20].

## Phormion's Victory in the Krisaian Gulf: B. C. 429.

A bronze plate from Dodona, of which three pieces remain: (a) in the Berlin Museum, purchased some time ago, as from Dodona; (b) and (c) published by C. Karapanos, *Dodone et ses Ruines*, p. 47. See M. Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 71; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 5; *Imagines* (1898), p. 84; Haussoullier, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* v (1881), p. 18; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 30; Michel, *Recueil*, 1129.

a

b

c

ἸΑθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Πελοπον[υ]:ησιῶν. ναυμαχίαι νικήσαντες ἀ[νέθεσαν].

This has been connected with the victory at Kekryphaleia (Thuk. i. 105); but as it has the four-line sigma Haussoullier, followed by Dittenberger, is more probably right in connecting it with the events described by Thukydides at the end of his second book. The stop after Πελοποννησιῶν is on the original.

## 58.

## Athenian Expedition to Lesbos: B. C. 429-428.

A fragment of Pentelic marble in the collection of the Archaeological Society at Athens. Στοιχηδόν. Kumanudes, Ἐφ. ἀρχ. 1883, p. 170; Kirchoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 65, no. 35 c, and *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berl.* 1886, pp. 303 foll.; Busolt, *Philologus*, 50 (1891), pp. 583 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 27; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 14.

[Ἐδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶ]ι δήμωι, ἸΑκα[μα-  
ντις ἐπρυτάνευε, . . .]λεὺς [ἐγρ]αμ[μ]άτ[ευ]-  
ε, ἸΕπαμείων ἦρχε, Σιβ[ύρτιο]ς ἐ]πεστά[τει]  
. . . . . εἶπε· ἐς τῆν πο[λί]σιν τῶν [νε-  
5 ὦν δανείσασθαι στρα]τηγούς τ[ὸν]ς μετὰ Π[ά-  
χητος ἀργύριον παρ]ὰ τῶν [νῶ]ν ὄντων δ-  
[ημάρχων τοῖς σκευουργ]οῖς· ἔδ' ἂν δανεί-  
[σσωσιν, ἀποδόντων αὐτο]ῖς π[ά]λ[ιν] ἑοι τρι-  
[ηροποιοί. τοὺς δὲ τεταγ]μένους πλεῖν ἐπὶ τ-  
10 [ῆν τῆς Λέσβου φυλακῆν ἑ]ως τάχιστα ἀποσ-  
[τειλάντων ἑοι στρατηγ]οί· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐσαγό-  
[ντων αὐτοὺς θανάτου ἐς δ]ικαστήριον ἑοι  
πρυτάνης, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ μ[ὴ] ἤθελον τοὺς ἀπι-  
[όντας ἐχσελθεῖν. τῆς δὲ] κομιδῆς τῶν νε[ῶ]-



15 ν . . . . . ἐ]γ Μακεδονίας σ[.  
 . . . . . ἐπιμ]ελ[η]θῆναι, ὅπως  
 [κομισθῶσιw ὅw τάχισ]τα Ἀθήναζε καὶ π-  
 [αρασκευασθῶσι, ὅπως] ἂν κομίζηται ἡ  
 [στρατιὰ ἡ ἐς Λέσβου φυ]λακὴν τὴν ἀρίστ-  
 20 [ην. ἐὰν δέ τις μὴ ποιήσῃ] κατὰ ταῦτα, ὀφείλ-  
 [ειν χιλίας δραχμὰς αὐτῶ]ν ἱερὰς τῇ Ἀθ-  
 [ηναίαι. τῶι δὲ πρώτῳι ἐλθ]όντι καὶ κομ[ί-  
 σαντι . . . . .] α ὁ δῆμος - -

The circumstances indicated in this inscription conform to what we know of the latter half of the year of the archonship of Epameinon, whose name is of the right length for the gap in line 3. Some of the restorations however, especially those of ll. 17 foll., must be regarded as very uncertain. Supposing them to be justified, we may note that the ships here mentioned are not part of a naval expedition, but transports for a land force. The decree therefore does not refer to the expedition of Kleippides (Thuk. iii. 3) but to reinforcements which it was intended to send him. These reinforcements, owing to the threatening of Attika by the enemy, did not start until the end of September (Thuk. iii. 18). By this time, apparently, the treasury was getting empty, the money from the last payment of tribute having been exhausted, so that the expenses of the new expedition had to be met by a loan from the deme-treasuries. For the trieropoioi, a commission of ten elected by the Council, see Arist. Ἀθ. Πολ. 46. 1.

It was not usual at Athens to record on stone such measures as we find here, unless circumstances lent them some permanent interest (cp. no. 49). What were the circumstances in the present instance? The answer is given by Wilhelm's discovery, the publication of which in his work on Attic inscriptions he has kindly allowed us so far to anticipate. The lower part of the stone bore a decree (*C. I. A. i. 82*) in honour of some person, presumably for services in connexion with the events to which these measures relate. We reproduce the text of the lower fragment (partly restored), merely noting that the honour may be either citizenship or proxenia, and that there is but little lost between the stones.

Ι Ε Σ  
 Σ Τ Ο Σ Τ Ε Ε Κ Π  
 Α Β Ε Ν Κ Α Ι Ε Σ Τ  
 Ι Π Ε Π Ε Μ Φ Σ Ε Ν Κ Λ  
 Ο Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ Ο Π Ε Δ Ο Ν Κ  
 Α Κ Α Ι Κ Ο Π Ε Α Κ Α Ι

..... παρ'] αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἐπα-  
 νέσαι ..... ὅς ὄντι ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ  
 καὶ προθύμῳ ποιεῖν ὅτι δύναται ἀγαθ-  
 ὸν καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργέτη]σεν τὴν τε πόλιν  
 καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναί]ων ἀναγράφσα-  
 ι κ.τ.λ.

## 59 [45].

## Surrender of Poteidaia : B. C. 429.

Statue-base of Pentelic marble found on the Akropolis. *C. I. A.* i. 340 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 28 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 1035 ; Lolling, *Κατάλογος*, i. p. 68, no. 98.

Ἐποίκων  
 ἐς Ποτείδαιαν.

Thuk. ii. 70: καὶ ὕστερον ἐποίκους ἑαυτῶν ἐπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν καὶ κατόκισαν. The dedication was made to Athena by the colonists before leaving home.

## 60 [44].

## Methone and King Perdikkas : B. C. 428-426.

On a large slab of marble, broken at the bottom, and surmounted by a (broken) relief (Schöne, *Gr. Reliefs*, pl. viii. 50 ; a man seated in a dignified attitude extends his hand to a man standing in humble garb, followed by a hound. The group doubtless represents the Athenian Δῆμος befriending the Methonians, who are pledged to obedient fidelity). Found in the theatre of Dionysos. Στοιχηδόν from line 3. *C. I. A.* i. 40 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 74 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 33 ; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 15 ; cp. Böckh, *Staatsh.*<sup>3</sup> ii. 499 ; Kirchhoff, *Abhandl. Berl. Akad.* 1861, pp. 555 foll. ; Köhler, *ibid.* 1869, i. p. 138.

Μεθωνάων ἐκ Πιερ[ίας].  
 [Φ]άλνιππος Φρυνίχου ἐγραμμάτ[ευε].

*First Decree.* Probably July, B. C. 428.

§ 1. [Ἐδ]οχσεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. Ἐρεχθὴς ἐπρ[υτάν-  
 . . . . . ευε,] Σκόπας ἐγραμμάτευε, Τιμωνίδης ἐπεστάται. [Διοπ-  
 5 εἰ]θης εἶπε· δι[α]χειροτονησαι τὸν δῆμον αὐτίκ[α πρὸ-  
 s M]εθωναίους εἶτε φόρον δοκεῖ τάττειν τὸν δῆμον αὐτ-  
 ίκ[α μάλα ἢ ἐχ]σ[α]ρκεῖν αὐτοῖς τελεῖν ὅσον τῆι (θ)ε[ῶι ἀπ-  
 ὀ τ]οῦ φόρου ἐγγύ(ν)ετο, ὃν τοῖς προτέροις Παν[αθηναίο-  
 10 ις] ἐτετάχατο φέρειν, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου ἀτελεῖς εἶναί. § 2. τῶν δὲ ὀφ-  
 ιλιημάτων, ἃ γεγράφαται τῶι δημοσίῳ τ[ῶι τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίω]ν Μεθωναῖοι ὀφείλοντες, ἐὰν ὧσι ἐπιτ[ή]δειοι Ἀ-  
 θη]ναίοις ὥσπερ τε νῦν καὶ ἔτι ἀμείνους, ἐπιτ[ρέ]πειν τ-  
 ε τ]άχσιν περὶ τῆς πράχσεως Ἀθηναίους· καὶ ἐὰν κοινὸν  
 15 λη]σι γίγνηται, μηδὲν προσῆκέτω Μεθωναίοις, ἐὰμ μ-  
 ἢ χ]ωρὶς γίγνηται φσθήσιμα περὶ Μεθωναίων. § 3. π[ρ]έσβει-  
 ς δ]ὲ τρεῖς πέμφσαι ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγού[σ]τας  
 ὅ]ς Περδίκκα[ν]. εἰπέειν δὲ Περδίκκαι, ὅτι δοκεῖ δίκαι-  
 20 ὀ]εῖναι ὀρίσασθαι, καὶ ἐὰν εἰσεμπορεύεσθ[αι καθ-  
 ἀπε]ρ τέως εἰ[ς] τῆ]ν χώραν, καὶ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μ[ή]τε [ἀ]δ[ικεῖσ]-  
 θαι, μηδὲ στρα[τ]ῖαν διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεθ[ω]ναίων [διὰ-  
 γειν ἀ]κόντωμ [Με]θωναίων. § 4. καὶ ἐὰμ μὲν ὁμολ[ο]γῶσιν [ῥεκ-  
 25 βεί]αν ἐκάτ[ερ]ο[ι] πεμπόντων εἰς Διονύσια, τέλος [ἔχον-  
 τας] περὶ ὧ[ν] ἂν διαφ(ε)ρωνται, πρὸς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν  
 δῆ]μον. εἰ[π]εῖν δὲ [Π]ερδίκκαι ὅτι, ἐὰν ὅτι στρατι[ῶ]ται  
 ὅ]ι ἐμ Π[ο]σ[ε]ιδ[ί]ωι ἐπαινώσι, γνώμας ἀγαθὰς ἔχουσιν  
 30 αἰ]ούς τελεῖν ὅσον τῆι θεῶι ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου ἐγγύε[το], ὃν  
 τοῦ]ς π[ρ]οτέρο[ις] Παναθηναίοις ἐτετάχατο φ[έ]ρειν, τοῦ  
 δὲ ἄ]λλου ἀτε[λεῖς εἶ]ναι.

*Second Decree:* B. C. 426 (passed in the first prytany).

§ 1. Ἐδοχσεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τ[ῶι δῆ]μ-  
 35 ωι. Ἴπποθω[ν]τις ἐπρυτάνευε, Μεγακλείδης [ἐ]γραμμά-  
 τευ]ε, Νικ[ο]λ[ο] . . . . ἐ]πεστάται. Κλεώνυμος εἶπε· Μ[ε]θωναί-  
 ο]ις εἰ[π]ε[ῖ]ν τε ἐχ[σ]άγειν ἐγ Βυζαντίου σίτου μέχ[ρ]ι . . . . α-  
 κισχ]ιλίων μεδίμνων τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου, ὅτι [τε Ἑλλη-  
 σπ]ουτοφύλακες μήτε αὐτοὶ κωλύοντων ἐχσάγειν μ[ή]τ-

ε ἄλ]λον ἐώντων κωλύειν ἢ εὐθυνέσθων μυρίασι δρ[αχ-  
 40 μαίσι]ν ἕκαστος. γραφσαμένους δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλησπ[ου-  
 το]φύλακας ἔχσάγει[ν] μέχρι τοῦ τεταγμένου. ἀζήμιος [δὲ  
 ἔσ]τω καὶ ἡ ναὺς ἡ ἔχσάγουσα. § 2. Ὅ τι δ' ἂν κοινὸν φσηφ[ισμ-  
 α π]ερὶ τῶν χυσιμμάχων] φσηφίζονται Ἀθηναῖοι π[ε]ρὶ β-  
 οη]θείας ἢ ἄ[λ]λο τι προ[σ]τάττο[ν]τες τῆσι πόλεσι ἢ [περ-  
 45 ἰ σφ]ῶν [ἢ] περὶ τῶν πό[λ]εων], Ὅ τι ἂν ὄνομαστὶ περὶ τ[ῆ]ς π-  
 ὄλε]ως τῆ[ς] Μεθωναίων φσηφίζονται, τοῦτο προσήκειν  
 αὐτοῖς], τ[ὰ] δὲ ἄλλα μὴ, ἀλλὰ φυλάττοντες τὴν σφετ[έ]ρα-  
 ν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ὄντων. § 3. Ἐὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Περδ[ί]κκ-  
 ου ἡδίκησ]θαί φασι, βουλευσασθαι Ἀθ[η]ναίους Ὅ τι ἂν δο-  
 50 κ]ῆι [ἄ]χιου εἶναι περὶ Μεθωναίων, ἐπειδὴν ἀπαν[τή]σ-  
 ω]σι ἔ[σ] τὸν δῆμον ὅι πρέσβεις [ῥ]οι παρὰ Περδίκκου, [οἷ τ-  
 ε] μετ[ὰ] Πλ[ε]ιστίου οἷ[χ]όμενοι καὶ ὅι μετὰ Λεωγ[ό]ρου. § 4. τῆ-  
 σ]μὶ δὲ [ἄ]λλῃσι πό[λ]ε[σ]ι χ]ρηματίσαι, ἐπειδὴν ἐσέλ[θη]ι ἡ  
 π]ρω[τ]αν[ε]ία ἢ δευτ[έ]ρα μετὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ εἰϋθὺς  
 55 ἔδρας] ἐκκλησίαν [πο]ήσαντες· συν[ε]χῶς δὲ ποεῖν τ[ὰ]ς ἐκ-  
 κλησία]ς, ἕως ἂν δι[α]πραχθῆι, ἄλλο δὲ προχρημα[τί]σαι  
 τούτῳ]ν μηδέν, ἐὰμ μὴ τι οἱ στρατη[γ]οὶ δέοντα[ι].

*Third Decree*: B. C. 426 (?) (passed in the second prytany).

[Ἐδοχσ-

εν τῆι] βουλῆι καὶ τῷ. δῆμῳ. Κεκροπίς ἐπρω[τάνευε, .

. . . . .]ης ἐγραμμάτε[ν]ε, ἡ[1]εροκλείδης ἐπ[ε]στάει . . .

60 . . . . .] εἶπε· ἐπειδὴ - - - (the rest is mutilated).

A fourth Decree must have originally come at the end, passed while Φαίνιππος ἐγραμμάτευε (see heading), i. e. B. C. 424-423 (decree in Thuk. iv. 118), when all these four documents were ordered to be inscribed together.

Methone remained faithful to Athens throughout the Peloponnesian War (Thuk. iv. 129 ; vi. 7) : after Aigospotamoi the alliance was suspended for a time, but in B. C. 364 Timotheos once more brought Methone over to the side of Athens (Deinarch. *in Dem.* § 14), until in 353 it was forced to yield to the siege of Philip (Grote, ch. 87). Doubtless it was to the advantage of Methone to secure freedom of movement by land and sea by alliance with the maritime power of Athens ; to Athens also Methone was a position of the greatest importance, as commanding the Thermaic Gulf.

*The first Decree* refers to the new assessment made in the previous year, probably B. C. 429-428 (cp. Köhler, *Urkunden*, p. 138), and proposes for the Methonians (in § 1) to pay no tribute, but only the  $\frac{1}{8}$ th due as ἀπαρχή (see no. 33). In § 2 their arrears of φόρος are excused, and a special arrangement (τάξις) is to be made about them. The stelai mentioned are the registers of debts owing to the treasury. In § 3 envoys are to be sent to Perdikkas, requesting him to give the Methonians freedom to pursue their traffic in any direction they please by land or sea, and not to set them limits on the coast (ὀρίσασθαι), whether N. or S. of Methone, which they might not pass.

§ 4. If he declines this suggestion, Perdikkas and the Methonians are to send envoys to Athens by next Dionysia (= March 427) with full powers to settle their differences. If the Athenian forces now at Poseidion report favourably of Perdikkas' behaviour in these respects, he will earn the goodwill of Athens.

§ 5. The proposed relief is voted to the Methonians. Accordingly, in the quota-list for B. C. 427-426 or 426-425 (*C. I. A. i.* 257) the Methonians are registered among the πόλεις αἰ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἀπήγαγον.

*Second Decree*: B. C. 426. § 1. The Methonians are permitted to import corn from Byzantion, and the Athenian ἐπίσκοποι or φύλακες there (see no. 32) are to help them; and the ship they charter is not to be regarded as contraband.

§ 2. ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ὄντων, 'let them stand to their post,' 'be in readiness,' cp. Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 2. 37, and no. 123, l. 48.

§ 3. Two sets of envoys had been sent to Perdikkas, and were expected back shortly: Leogoras may be the father of Andokides the orator.

§ 4. Envoys from other cities seem to have been present with demands. The Athenians promise immediate attention to the matter: but the βουλή just now was sitting down at the docks (Böckh, *Seeurkunden*, pp. 171 and 466) on business connected with the fleet; that ended, the prytanes will call the ἐκκλησία together, and this matter shall be the 'first order of the day.'

## 61.

## Athenian Kleruchy in Lesbos: B. C. 427.

Five fragments of marble (*στοιχηδόν*), brought together in *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 22, no. 96; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 29; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 16. See J. Stahl, *Rh. Mus.* 38, p. 145; H. Swoboda, *Serta Harteliana*, pp. 28 foll.

The heading (frag. *c*) is badly mutilated. Fragments *a* and *d* proceed:

- - - αι ἸΑθην[αἰ] κελεύουσ[ι - -  
 . . δ[ί]κας διδόν[τα]ς πρὸς ἸΑθην[αίων τοὺς ἐπισκόπου-  
 ς κατὰ τὰς χυ[μ]βο[λ]ὰς Ἰαι ἦσα[ν πρὸς Μυτιληναίου-  
 ς. κ[α]ὶ τοῖς κλη[ροῦ]χοις, ἴόσα ἐπω[λήθη] ὄντα ἐπὶ τῶν  
 10 ἀγ[ρῶν] πρὶν ἀ[πο]δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς [τῆγ γῆν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 στρατηγῶν [καὶ] τῶν στρατιωτῶν, [ἀποδοῦναι Μυτιλ-  
 ην]αίων τοὺς ἔχοντας. καὶ ἀναγράφ[σαι ταῦτα τὸν γ-  
 ρα]μματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐ' στήλῃ λιθ[ίνῃ καὶ καταθ]-  
 εῖναι ἐμ πόλει τέλεσι τοῖς(σ) [Μυτιληναίων(?) . . ταῦ]-  
 15 τα μὲν ἀναγράφσαι καὶ κ[α]λέσαι τὴν πρεσβεῖαν τ]-  
 ῶν Μυτιληναίων ἐπὶ χ[σένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς]  
 αὔριον· τοῖς δὲ κλη[ροῦ]χοις . . . . .]  
 γῆς ἀνταποδο - -

Fragments *b* and *e* are too seriously mutilated to repay repetition here.

After the reduction of Lesbos, the Athenians sent a kleruchy to the island. The Lesbians cultivated the land themselves, paying two minae a year as rent for each *kleros* to the owners. It has generally been supposed that the Athenian kleruchs were absentee landlords; but this inscription, regulating suits at law between the kleruchs and their Mytilenaian tenants, disproves the supposition. The Athenians were resident, but, as Swoboda suggests, were probably required to reside in the towns and act as a garrison for the island. The Mytilenaians, if the restoration in line 15 is correct, still retained the power to send an embassy in their own name, in spite of subjection to Athenian governors (line 7); and they asked for the regulation of legal procedure in disputes between themselves and the resident Athenians.

The procedure was accordingly decreed to follow on the lines of the *ξυμβολαίαι* into which, as a free and independent state, Mytilene had formerly entered with Athens.

## 62 [46].

**Repayment of moneys borrowed from the Temple-treasures :  
B. C. 426—423.**

On eight fragments found at different times on the Akropolis. Στοιχηδόν. Kirchoff, *C. I. A.* i. 273; cp. Rangabé, *Antiq. Hell.* 116—117, 373; Böckh, *Kleine Schriften*, vi. pp. 72, 89, and 211; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>1</sup>, 29; Michel, *Recueil*, 561.

This document shows that during the four years B.C. 426—423 the war expenses were so heavy that the ordinary income of the state (from φόρος and the other sources of revenue) was not sufficient to meet them. Recourse was therefore had to the accumulating *χρήματα τῆς Ἀθηναίας* and also τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. But it had been enacted B.C. 435 (no. 49, § 11) that these treasures should not be voted away for state-purposes without an indemnity-bill (*ἀδεία*); and moreover they were at least in form dedicated to the gods. Accordingly they are here 'borrowed' at a nominal interest. It will be remembered that Perikles (Thuk. ii. 13) speaks of the *ἰερά χρήματα* as all being available when necessary. In B.C. 422 the peace of Nikias brought relief to the Athenian exchequer, and about B.C. 420 the debt to the gods was repaid with the interest thereon, as here set forth. The interest is shown by Böckh to be calculated at the rate of  $\frac{1}{300}$  of a *drachma* for every *mina per diem*. The normal rate of interest in Greece was τόκος ἐπὶ δραχμῆ, i. e. a *drachma* per *mina* per month, or twelve per cent. *per annum*. The formal interest payable to Athena was a tithe of this, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., i. e.  $\frac{1}{60}$  of a *drachma* per month, or (reckoning thirty days to the month)  $\frac{1}{1800}$  of a *drachma per diem*. This is not the place to do more than refer the reader to the calculations of Rangabé, *l. c.* i. pp. 179 foll., and Böckh in his essay (*l. c.*). Comp. also Billeter, *Geschichte des Zinsfusses*, p. 42. We shall ask the reader to take for granted their accuracy, and will merely dwell upon the historical interest of the document.

**Moneys borrowed from the Treasury of Athena :**

**B. C. 426-423.**

*Heading.* [Τάδε τοῦ τόκου ἐλογίσαντ]ο ὅι λογιστα[ὶ ἐν τοῖς τέτ-]  
ταρσιυ ἔτεσιυ ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς [Παναθήνα|ια ὀφειλόμενα].

On the λογισταί, or board of auditors, see no. 33, p. 51.

FIRST YEAR : B. C. 426-425.

*First payment.* [Τάδε ὅ]ι ταμίαι παρέδοσ[αν, Ἀνδρο]κλῆς Φλυεὺς  
καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, Ἑλλ[ληνοταμία]ις . . . . .]εἶ καὶ  
χσυνάρχονσι[ν, στρατ]ηγοῖς Ἴπποκράτει Χολαργεῖ καὶ [χσ]υ[νάρχονσιν, |  
ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδο]ς πρυτανείας δευτέ[ρας πρυ]τανευούσης, τέτταρες  
5 ἡμέρ[α]ι ἦσα[ν ἐσ]ε[ληλυθία]ις, ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἡ[ὶ] Μεγακλείδης  
πρωτο[ς ἐ]γραμ[μ]άτευε, ἐπὶ Εὐθύνου ἄρχοντος. ♀♀ τόκος τ[ούτου]ς  
ἐγένετο: ♂♂ΗΔΔ]ΔΠ† :

The interest repaid together with the capital is for four years, which contained respectively 355, 354, 384, 355 = 1448 days: deduct from this all the days of this quadriennium which had passed before the loan, together with the day on which the loan was received, and you get the number of days for which interest was calculated. The summer of B.C. 426 was a busy one for Athens. Laches was continuing the operations in Sicily (Thuk. iii. 86. 90); Demosthenes and Prokles (*ibid.* 91. 94) sailed round Peloponnese and attacked Aitolia: Nikias, with a fleet of thirty sail (*ibid.* 91), made descents upon Melos and Boiotia and Lokris, Hipponikos and Eurymedon marching at the same time on Tanagra: also Pythodoros is named (*ibid.* 115) as succeeding Laches in Sicily during the following winter. None of these στρατηγοί is named in our inscription: nor is Hippokrates, whom it does specify, named by Thukydides this year. But Thukydides (iv. 66) tells us that twice every year the Athenians invaded Megaris, and that in B.C. 424 (*ibid.*) Hippokrates son of Ariphron was commanding there. Probably he did the same in 426, and, being near at hand, was the στρατηγός who (in the name of all the ten colleagues) signed the receipt for the Treasures of the goddess. As the Attic year began with Hekatombaion (= July), and the prytany contained thirty-five



or thirty-six days, this payment was made towards the beginning of August, after the fleets for the Peloponnese and for Melos had sailed.

*Second payment.* Δευτέρα δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Κ]εκροπίδος δευτέρας πρυτανευούσης [λ]οι[πῶν ἔτι ἐ]ἴκοσι ἡμερῶν] τῇ πρυτανείαι [Α]· τόκος τ[ούτω :] ΤΤΧ[Α]ΗΗΗΗ[Α]ΔΔ

*Third payment.* Τρίτη δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Παν[διονίδου]ς πρυτανείας] τετάρτης πρυτανευούσης, [ἐ]σεληλ[υθυίας πέντε ἡμέρα[ι] τῆς πρυτανείας· Α[Α]Α[Α]Τ[Τ]Τ[Τ]Α[Α]Δ[Δ]Α[Α]· τόκος τ[ούτω:] Τ[Χ[Α]ΗΗΔΓΑ]Α[Α]

*Fourth payment.* [Τετάρτ]η δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄκαμαντίδος πρυτανείας] ὀγδόης || πρυτανευούσης, πέντε ἡμέραι ἐσεληλυθυίας τῆς πρυτανείας· Α[Α]Α[Α]Α[Α]Τ[Τ]Τ[Τ]Χ[Χ]Χ[Χ]· τόκος τούτω[ν:] ΤΧΧΧΧ[Α]Η[Α]Δ[Α]Α[Α]

*Fifth payment.* [Πέμπ]τη δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄκαμαντίδος πρυτανείας] ὀγδόης πρυτανευούσης, ἐσεληλυθυίας \*]ἔχς ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας· Η[Α] τόκος τ[ούτων:] ΤΤΤ[Α]Α[Α]ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ

*Sixth payment.* Ἑκτη δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρε[χθηίδου] | πρυτανείας] δεκάτης πρυτανευούσης, ἐσεληλυθυίας ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τῆς πρυτανείας, Α[Α]Α[Α]Τ[Τ]Τ[Τ]Χ[Χ]Χ[Χ]Α[Α] | ΔΑ[Α]· (τόκος) τούτοις] ἐγένετο [ΧΧΧΧ]Η[Α]Δ[Α]Α[Α]Α[Α]

*Total of these payments with the interest thereon.* [Κεφ]άλαιον 15 τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώματος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄνδ[ροκλέους ἀ]ρχῆς καὶ χσυν[αρχόντων:] Η[Α]Η[Α]Α[Α]Α[Α]Τ[Τ]Α[Α]Α[Α]Α[Α]· τ[όκου κεφάλαιον τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τῷ ἀναλωθέντι ἐπὶ τῆς | Ἄνδρ[οκλέους] ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυν[αρχόντων:] Α[Α]Τ[Τ]Α[Α]Α[Α]Α[Α]Α[Α]Α[Α]Α[Α]

The total is 4½ obols short: there was doubtless a reason why these were not reckoned in.

#### SECOND YEAR: B. C. 425-424.

*First payment.* Τάδε παρέδωσαν ὅτι τα[μίαι Φωκ]ιδάδης ἐχς Οἴ]ου καὶ χσυνάρχοντες ἐπὶ Σ[τρα]τοκλέους ἀρχοντος κ[αί] ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἠ]ι Πλ[ειστίας] | πρῶτος ἐγραμ[μάτευε, στρατηγούς περὶ Π[ε]λοπόννησον Δημοσθένης Ἀλκισθένης Ἀφιδ[ναίω] ἐπὶ | τῆς . . . ἠίδου] πρυτανείας τετάρτης [πρυτα]μευούσης, τρίτη ἡμ[έ]ραι τῆς πρυτανείας 20 ἐ[σεληλυθυ]ίας, ἐκ τοῦ Ὀπισθ]οδόμου· Α[Α]Α[Α]· τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο Α[Α]Α[Α]ΗΗΗΗΔ

The payment was made in October, i. e. after the taking of Pylos: probably Demosthenes still kept cruising in the neigh-

bourhood of the Peloponnese. Observe that he is not himself called στρατηγῶ: cp. Thuk. iv. 2, ὄντι ἰδιώτῃ. The words ἐκ τοῦ Ὀπισθ. are to be understood in every payment throughout this inscription.

*Second payment.* Ἐτ[έ]ρα δόσις στρατηγοῖς [Νικίαι Ν]ικηράτου Κυδα[ντι]δῆι καὶ χουνάρχου[σι] ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος πρυτανείας ἐνάτης πρυτ[ανευούση]s, πέμπτη καὶ δεκάτη ἡμέραι τῆς π[ρυταν]είας ἐσεληλυθίας· Η[ ] τόκος τούτοις ἐγένε[το] ΤΤXXX | [HHHHH]

There is little doubt about Nicias' name: see fourth payment in the first year of no. 70. The payment was made in the early summer of B. C. 424, apparently towards the cost of the expedition against Kythera (Thuk. iv. 53).

*Total of these payments with the interest thereon.* [Κεφάλ]αιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώ[ματος] ἐπὶ τῆς Φωκιάδου ἀρχῆς καὶ χουναρχόντων. Η[ ] τόκου | κεφάλαιον τῶι ἀργυρίωι τῶι ἀναλωθ[έντι] ἐπὶ τῆς 25 Φωκι[άδ]ου ἀρχῆς καὶ χουναρχόντων· Τ[ΤΤXXXHH || ΗΔ]

### THIRD YEAR: B. C. 424-423.

*First payment.* [Τάδε παρέδ]οσαν ὅι ταμίαι Θ[ουκυ]δίδης Ἀχερδούσιος καὶ χουνάρχοντες ἐπὶ Ἰσά[ρχου] ἀρχο[ντος] καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡι Ἀχσ[ί]ος (?) [πρῶ]τος ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἔνοις δ[. . . . .] | - - -] Χαροπίδῃ Σκ[αμβ]ωνίδῃ καὶ χουνάρχουσι[ν] ἐπὶ τῆς . . . | - - - ἰδος πρυτανείας - - - s πρυτανευούσης, ἔκτη καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανεί[ας] . . . . . | - - - τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο XXXXHHHHΔΓIIII

Paid to the Hellenotamiai of the year before (ἔνοις); the payment had been promised, but never made, by the last year's Treasurers.

30 *Second payment.* Δευτέρα δ[όσις ἐπὶ τῇ]s - - - ἰδος πρυτανείας - - s πρυτανευούσης, δωδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας· ΔΔΤΤΤ [- -] - - τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο - -].

*Third payment.* [Τρίτη δ]όσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος πρυτανείας ἔ[- -] ης πρυτανευούσης, - - τῆς πρυτανείας - -]. τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο HHΔΔΔHH

*Fourth payment.* Τε[τάρτη δόσις] ἐπὶ τῆς - - ἰδος πρυτανείας - - ] πρυτανευούσης, τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας . . . . . | τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο - -].

*Total of these payments, and the interest thereon.* [Κεφάλαιον]

35 τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώματος ἐπὶ τῆς Θουκυδίδου [ἀρχῆς καὶ χσν|ναρχόντων . . . . . τόκου κεφάλαιον τῶι ἀργυρίω τῶι ἀναλωθέντι ἐπὶ τῆς Θουκυδ[ίδου ἀρχῆς καὶ |χσνναρχόντων - - -].

These payments cannot be distinctly connected with particular events of this eighth year of the war (Thuk. iv. 66 foll.).

FOURTH YEAR: B.C. 423-422.

*First payment.* [Τάδε παρ]έδοσαν ἑοι ταμίαι Τιμοκλῆς Εἰτειαῖος [καὶ χσννάρχου|τες ἐπὶ Ἀμειλίω ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλ[ῆς ἡι Δημήτριος Κολλυτεὺς πρῶτος ἐγ[ραμμάτευε, . . . | - - - Μυρρ]ινοσίωι καὶ χσννάρχουσι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμα[ντίδος πρυταν]είας - - - s πρυτανευούσης, - - - ηι] τῆς πρυτανείας· [ἹἹΤΤΤΤΧΧΧΧἹἹΗΗΔΔ· τόκος 40 τούτοις ἐγ|ένητο - - -].

*Second payment.* [Δευτέρ]α δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος πρυτανεί[ας - - - s | πρυτανευούσης, - - - ηι τῆς πρυτανείας· - - -]ΤΤἹἹ· τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο ΗἹΔΔΤΤΤΤ - - -

*Third payment.* [Τρίτη δόσι]ς | [ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος πρυτανείας - - -]της πρυτανευούσης, τετάρτη τῆς πρυτα[νείας . . .]σάμ | [- - - τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο - -] [ἹἹΔΔΔΔΤΤ]

*Fourth payment.* Τετάρτη δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντ[ίδος πρυτ]ανεί[- as ὀγδῶς πρυτανευούσης, δευτέραι καὶ] εἰκοστῆι τῆς πρυτανείας, ΗἹ· 45 τόκος τούτο[ις ἐγέν]ετο ΧἹἹ[|ΗΔΔΔΔ]

*Fifth payment.* [Πέμπτη δόσι]ς ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδο]ς πρυτανείας δεκάτης πρυτανευούσης, [τετάρτ]ηι τῆς πρ[υτανείας, . . . τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο .] ΗΔΔΤΤΤ

*Total of these payments, and interest thereon.* Κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώ[ματος] ἐπὶ τῆς Τι[μοκλέους ἀρχῆς καὶ χσνναρχόντων] ΗἹΗ. ]ΔΔΤΤΧἹἹΗΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ· κεφάλαιον τόκου τ[οῖς ἀ]ναλωθείσι χρ[ῆμασι] ἐπὶ τῆς Τιμοκλέους ἀρχῆς καὶ χσν[ναρχόντων] ΤἹἹἹἹΔΤΤΤ

This year, the ninth of the war, was one of severe strain upon Athens, owing to the successes of Brasidas and the defection of the Thracian towns.

*Grand totals for the quadriennium.* Κεφάλαι[ον ἀν]αλώματος χσ[ύμ]παντος ἃ ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσι ἐ[τεσι]ν ἐκ Παναθηναίων 50 ἐς Παναθήν[αια ἹἹ]ΗἹΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ· || [- - - κεφάλαιον τόκου χσ[ύμ]παντος Ἀθηναίαις ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσι ἐ[τεσι]ν ἐκ Παν[αθη]ναίων ἐς Πα[ναθη]ναία - - -].

Then follows (1) a statement of a loan from the Treasury of Athena Nike, made in the last year of the quadriennium, amount unknown, the stone being broken; (2) fragmentary accounts of loans made in the same year from the treasures of 'The Other Gods.' We gather that B.C. 423-422 was a year which seriously taxed the Athenian resources.

## 63 [49].

**Messenian and Naupaktian Victories: B. C. 426-425.**

On the base of the Nike of Paionios, one of the chief prizes that rewarded the excavators of Olympia. *Ausgrab. zu Olympia*, part i. pl. 32; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Olympia*, v. p. 377, no. 259; E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 178; J. H. C. Schubart, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 113 (1876), p. 397, and 115 (1877), p. 379; Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* xxxiv (1876), p. 169; Weil, *ibid.* p. 229; J. Schubring, *Arch. Zeit.* xxxv (1877), pp. 26 and 59; H. Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 348, and *Imagines* (1898), p. 57; Löwy, *Inscr. Gr. Bildhauer*, 49; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 4637; F. Köpp, *Rh. Mus.* 50, p. 268; H. Pomtow, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 153 (1896), pp. 527, 577; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 31; Michel, *Recueil*, 1086; Frazer on *Pausanias*, v. 26. 1; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpt. Grecque*, i. pp. 455 foll.; E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 341.

Μεσσάνιοι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι ἀνέθεν Διὶ  
 Ὀλυμπίῳ δεκάταν ἀπὸ τῶμ πολέμιων.  
 Παιώνιος ἐποίησε Μενδαῖος·  
 καὶ τὰ κρωτήρια ποιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνίκα.

Pausanias (v. 26. 1) tells the story of the statue thus:—  
 Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν Δωριέων οἱ Ναυπακτόν ποτε (B.C. 455, Thuk. i. 103) παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Νίκης ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ἀνέθεσαν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἔργον μὲν Μενδαίου Παιωνίου, πεποίηται δὲ “ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν πολέμιων,” ὅτε Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ Οἰνιάδαις, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐπολέμησαν. [Cf. Paus. iv. 25]. Μεσσηνιοὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι τὸ ἀνάθημά σφισιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγράψαι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν πολέμιων σφᾶς τῷ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δέματι, ἐπεὶ Οἰνιάδων γε καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων οὐδένα ἔχειν φόβον. There was therefore a twofold tradition about its origin. There was also a similar monument dedicated by the Messenians and Naupaktians at Delphoi, which Pausanias does not mention, but of which remains have been found. Pausanias' own conjecture, putting the date back to before the middle of the century, must be unhesitatingly

rejected, on account of the style of the statue, which, it may be added, must have been set up after the completion of the temple (about the 83rd Olympiad). The argument of the Messenians as to the phrasing of the epigram is refuted by the evidence of many other dedicatory inscriptions, and has every appearance of being a popular invention. Nevertheless it is exceedingly probable that the monument actually does refer to the affairs of Pylos. As Pomtow has shown, the reference must be either to Demosthenes' expedition with 200 Messenians and 60 Attic archers (Thuk. iii. 105 and 107) and the victories at Olpai and Idomene, where great spoil was acquired (winter 426-425), or to the help rendered by Messenians to Athens in the affair of Pylos (April to June 425), when they sent a garrison from Naupaktos to Pylos and plundered Lakonia (Thuk. iv. 41; Diod. xii. 63). The old inhabitants of Naupaktos were a sea-faring folk, and it was probably they who supplied the Messenian pirate-ships (Thuk. iv. 9). Just as two dedications were made by the Athenians, in the same year B. C. 425, of a bronze statue of Athena Nike (*C. I. A.* iv (2), 198 c) for the Ambrakiote war—see no. 147—and of a bronze Nike for the success at Sphakteria (Paus. iv. 36. 6), so the Messenians and Naupaktians may have made two dedications, one at Delphoi for the successes at Olpai and Idomene, another at Olympia for their share in the campaign of Pylos. These monuments were probably set up immediately; there was no reason for delaying the commemoration until the peace of Nikias.

The artist's inscription is in the Ionic dialect (if we except the word *ναός*), since he was a native of Mende (not in Pallene, but the less known city) in Thrace above Ainos, where the Ionic dialect was in use. In subscribing his name, he takes the opportunity of recording that he was the successful competitor in designing the ornamentation for the ridge of the temple-roof at Olympia (cp. also Paus. v. 10. 2). Line 4 is poetically phrased and in choriambic rhythm. On this same pedestal, nearly three centuries later, the Messenians recorded their peaceful victory over the Lakedaimonians in the arbitration of the Milesians: no. 200 (First Edition).

## 64 [47].

## Assessment of Tribute payable by the Athenian allies ;

τάξις φόρου : B. C. 425.

Put together out of thirty fragments found at various times on the Akropolis. Στοιχηθόν. Köhler, *Urkunden u. Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. Delisch-Attisch. Bundes*, pp. 63 foll. ; *C. I. A.* i. 37 and iv. pp. 13, 54, 66, 140 ; *Hermes*, 1896, p. 146 ; Hill, *Sources for Gk. Hist.* p. 14, no. 72 ; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 17 ; cp. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. pp. 207 foll. ; Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* 54 (1899), pp. 544 foll.

(a) *Heading and Title*: Θ[εοί.] Τά[χσι]ς [φ]ό[ρ]ου]. Next followed two decrees of the Senate and People, concerning the assessment of Tribute, both passed in the prytany of the tribe Aigeis and in the archonship of Stratokles. At the end was a list of the Tributary States with the sums payable that year, beginning with the Islands (*νησιωτικὸς φόρος*) and ending with the Thracian allies (*Θράκιος φόρος*), between which there came (but in what order is doubtful) the Ionian-Karian and Hellespontine tribute (*Ἴωνικὸς φόρος*, *Ἑλλησπόντιος*).

(b) *First decree*. Ἐδοχσεν τῇ[ι] βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμωι. Αἰγῆτις] ἐπρ[υτάνευε, . . . ]ων ἐγρα[μμάτευε, . . . . . ]ἐπε[σ]τάται. Θούδι[π-πος εἶπε]

(c) *Eight commissioners to be appointed*. [- - - ἐπειδ]ὰν χειρο[τον . . . . . ]ἐπὶ τὰ]ς πόλεις, δύο [μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Θράκι-κης,] δύο δὲ ἐπὶ Ἴωνίαν, δύο δ]ὲ ἐπὶ νήσους, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ Ἑλλάσπ[οντο]ντα[ν]. ἑστ[οι]οῦσι δὲ . . . . . ]κοινοὶ ἑ[ . . . . . ]εως πα[- - -].

(d) The next few lines are hopelessly mutilated: ἑορκωτα[ί] are mentioned, who were to visit the allies and take their oath of adherence to this assessment. Cp. Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 5. 3 ; and no. 40.

(e) *Penalties denounced against Prytanes who neglect to introduce before the assembly a probouleuma in accordance with this decree*: (cp. no. 40, note on l. 12). [ἐὰν δὲ ἄνθρωποι πρυτάνεις μὴ ἔχσενέγκω]σι ἐ[σ] τὸν δῆμον κ - - ον | . . . [ἢ μὴ χρηματίσωσι] ἐπὶ σ[φ]ῶν αὐτῶν, ὅφ[ε]ιλειν χιλίας δραχμὰς ἑρα]ῖς τῇ[ι] Ἀθηνα[ῖαι] ἑκάστον τῶν π[ρ]υτάνεων καὶ τῶ[ι] δημοσίωι ἑ[χ]ρήκοντα ἢ εὐθυνέσθω μυρ[ι]ασι | [δρα]χμῇ[σι] ἑκάστος τῶν π[ρ]υτάνεων. καὶ ἐάν τις ἄλλως

δι[αχειροτονήσῃ ἢ εἴπηι ἢ μ]ἢ εἶναι τ[ὰς] τάχσ[εις - - - -] ἐπὶ τῆς πρυτανεί[ας ἢ ἂν - - πρυτα]νεύῃ, ἀτ[ί]μος ἔσ[τω καὶ] τὰ χ[ρήματα] αὐτοῦ δ[ημόσι]α ἔσ[τω] καὶ τῆς θεοῦ [τὸ ἐπιδέκατο]ν.

(f) *The next few lines can be restored more certainly:* ἐχ[σενε]γκέτω δὲ ταῦτα ἐς [τὸν] δῆμον [ἢ Αἰγι]ῆς π[ρ]υτα[νεύει]α ἐπάναγκες, ἐπειδὴν . . . . .]στρα . . . ἐς τρίτην ἡ[μέραν] [πρῶτ]ον μετ[ὰ τὰ ἑ]ρέα, εἰ[ὰν] δὲ [μὴ] δι[α]π[ρ]αχθῆι ἐν ταύ[τῃ, χρηματ]ί[ζειν] π[ε]ρὶ τούτου πρῶ[τ]ου τῆι [ἕ]σ[τερ]αία [χ]ισυνε[χῶς] [ἔ]ως [ἂν] δι[α]π[ρ]αχθῆι ἐπὶ τῆ[ς] εἰρημένη[ς] πρυτανείας. εἰ[ὰν] δ[ὲ] μ[ὴ] ἔχσ[ε]νέγκωσι ἐς [τὸν] δῆμον ἢ [μὴ] δι[α]π[ρ]αχθῶσι ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, εὐθὺν] ἔσθω μυρίασι δρ[αχμῆ]σιν ἑ[κ]αστ[ο]ς τῶμ [πρυτάν]εω[ν . .]ρο . . . . . ακωλύον ἐπιδ[ε]ιχσ[ο]ν . . . . .] στρα[ . .]α[s].

(g) *Next came provisions for communication with the tributary states by means of δημόσιοι κλητῆρες and κήρυκες* (see *Ar. Birds*, 1422, κλητῆρ νησιωτικός). *This portion is hopelessly broken, but it ends, apparently, by prescribing the payment of the expenses of these officers:* τοῖς δὲ κήρυξι τοῖς ἰούσι τ[ὸν] μισθόν? ἀποδ[όντων] τοῖ κωλακρέται[ς].

(h) *Supplementary motion, providing for the hearing of appeals against assessments:* [ὁ δεῖνα εἶπ]ε. τὰ μ[ὲν] ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆι βουλῆι· τὰς [δὲ] τάχσεις, ἴοσαι [- - - τοὺς] πρ[υ]τάνει[ς] τοῖ ἂν τότε τυγχάνωσι πρυτ[ανεύοντ]ες, καὶ τ[οὺς] ἔσαγωγέας ἔσάγειν περὶ τούτων? ἐς τ[ὸ] δικάστηριον, ὅταν περὶ τῶν τάχσ[εων] ἢ ἴόπως ἂν - - .

(i) *Second decree.* Ἐδοχ[ε]ν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι. Α[ἰγι]ῆς ἐπρυτάνει[ε, - - ων] ἐγραμμάτευε, - - δ[ω]ρος ἐπεσ[τάτει]. Θούδιππος εἶπε.

(j) *The cities now assessed are to take part in the Great Panathenaea:* (comp. no. 41): ἴοπόσ[ησι] πόλεσι φόρος [ἐτάχθη] ἐπὶ τῆ[ς] βουλῆ[ς, ἢ] Πλειστ[ίας] πρῶτος [ἐγ]ραμμάτευε, ἐπὶ Στρατοκ[λέους] ἄρχοντος; βο[ῶν] καὶ πανοπ[λίαν] ἀπάγειν ἐς Παναθηναία τὰ μεγ[άλα] ἁπάσας· πεμπόντων [δὲ] ἐν τῆι πομπῆι - - - .

For the restoration πανοπλίαν, see no. 41, note on l. 11.

(k) *Heading of the list of cities as newly assessed:* [Κατὰ τὰδε] ἔταχσεν τὸμ φῶρον τῆ[σι] πόλεσι ἢ [β]ου[λή], [ἢ] τῆι [Π]λειστ[ίας] πρῶτος ἐγραμμ[ά]τευε, καὶ ἢ ἢηλιαία?, ἐπὶ Στρατοκ[λέους] ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ [τῶν] ἐσ[α]γωγέων τοῖς Κα[- - - ἐγραμμάτευε].

*List of the Tribute as assessed B. C. 425.**(l) Tribute from the Islands:—*

Νησιωτικὸς φόρος[s].

30 tal.	△△△	Πάρι[ο]ι
15 tal.	△▯	Νάχσ[ιο]ι
15 tal.	△▯	Ἄνδρ[ιοι]
15 tal.	△▯	Μήλιοι
9 tal.	▯TTTT	Σίφν[οι]
15 tal.	△▯	Ἐρετρ[ιῆς]
5 tal.	▯	Θηραῖοι
10 tal.	△	Κεῖ[οι]
5 tal.	▯	Καρ[ύστιοι]
10 tal.	△	Χαλκ[ιδῆς]
6 tal.	▯T	Κύθν[ιοι]
10 tal.	△	Τήν[ι]ο[ι]
2 tal.	TT	Σπ[υρ]ῆς
	--	Μ[υ]κόνι[οι]
	--	[Σ]ερίφι[οι]
	--	Ἴηται
	--	Διῆς
1 tal.	T	Ἀθηνῶται
1 tal.	T	Σύριοι
2000 dr.	XX	Γρυγχῆς
1000 dr.	X	Ῥηναῖς
2000 dr.	XX	Διακρῆς ἀπ[ὸ]
		Χαλκιδέων
1000 dr.	X	Ἀναφαῖοι
10 dr. 3 ob.		Κέρια Δ
2000 dr.	XX	Φολέγανδρος
300 dr.	HHH	Βέλβινα
1000 dr.	X	Κίμωλος
1000 dr.	X	Σικινῆται
100 dr.	H	Ποσιδέιον
		ἐν Εὐβοίαι
1 tal. 2000 dr.	TXX	Διά[κρ]ιοι
		ἐν Ε[ὐβ]οίαι
4 tal.	TTTT	. εφ --
		. ο --

Böckh supposes the last name to be Ἡφαιστῆς in Lemnos.



(m) *Ionian and Karian Tribute* :—

This column had a peculiar heading, which related to an ἐπιφορά or extraordinary contribution, which is removed by the present assessment. Kirchhoff restores it *exempli gratia* thus:—

[ῥοπόσησι τῶν πό-  
λεων χσ]υ[νεκεχώ-  
ρητο φέ]ρ[ειν μῆ  
᾿άμα χσ]ύμπ[αντας,  
ἀλλὰ π]αρά μ[έρος  
τοὺς φό]ρους, ἐ[πὶ τῶι  
ἐπιφ]ορὰν [τελεῖν,  
ἄνευ] ταύτης [χσ]ύμπ-  
[ας ᾿ο] φόρος ἐτάχθη.

*List of Ionian and Karian cities: the numerals are mostly lost* :—

Λίνδιοι  
Μιλήσιοι Λέρ[ιοι]  
Τειχιοῦσσα  
Καμυρῆς  
Κυμαῖοι  
᾿Εφέσιοι  
᾿Ερυθραῖοι  
Τήμιοι  
᾿Ιηλύσιοι  
Φασηλίται  
[Τ]ελεμήσσιο[ι]  
[Κλ]αυδῆς  
[Κῶ]ιοι  
[Τηλάν]δροιοι  
Κυ[δ]ιοι  
Κολο[φώνι]οι  
᾿Αιρ[αῖοι]  
Χερρ[ονήσιοι]  
Λεβέ[διοι]  
Φωκα[ιῆς]  
᾿Ιδυμ[ῆς]  
Τύμν[ιοι]

		Κυλλ[άνδιοι]
		Ἄστν[παλαιῆς]
		Ἄλι[καρνάσσιοι]
		Πολ[ιχναῖοι]
		Ἐρν[θραίων]
		Κλα[ζομένιοι]
		Καλ[ύδνιοι]
		Πρ[ιηνῆς]
		Πλαδ[αρῆς ? = Πλαγαρῆς]
		Πυγε[λής]
		Ληρισ[αῖοι]
		Μνήσσ[ιοι]
		Τερμ[ερῆς]
1 tal.	Τ	Κω[δυῆς]
		Ἄρ[τεμι . . ]
3 tal.	ΤΤΤ	- - -
		A - - -
		M - - -
1000 dr.	Χ	Καρνα[υδῆς]
500 dr.	Ϝ	Βρνκούντιοι
1000 dr.	Χ	Ταρβανῆς
1000 dr.	Χ	Μύνδιοι
		παρὰ Τέρμερα
6 tal.	ϜΤ	Ἐδριῆς Ὑμησσηῆς
		Κυρωμῆς
2 tal.	ΤΤ	Τῆλος
2 tal.	ΤΤ	Κελένδερις
4000 dr.	ΧΧΧΧ	Ἰτύρα
3000 dr.	ΧΧΧ	Σύμη
3000 dr.	ΧΧΧ	Πιδασῆς
2000 dr.	ΧΧ	Ἰδαιῆς
100 dr.	Η	Ἐλαιούσιοι
		Ἐρυνθραίων
	--	. ερὰ παρὰ
		. . . υμέας
	--	. . . . s
	--	[Πύριν]δος
	--	. . . . . υλαιαι
	--	- - -

--	..... ατος
--	..... ι
	( <i>Lacuna.</i> )
--	[Ἐτεοκαρ]πάθιοι
--	[..... ἦ]ς
	( <i>Lacuna.</i> )
-	..... ἦ[ς]
--	..... οι
-	..... ἦς
--	[Οἰναῖ]οι
	[ἐν Ἰκά]ρωι
--	..... σῆς
--	..... ιοι
--	[Μυριν]αῖοι
	[παρὰ Κύ]μην.

In l. 6 after the last lacuna, perhaps [Ἰδισ]σῆς.

(n) *Tribute from the Hellespontine States.*

(The list is incomplete, and most of the numerals are lost.)

Νεοπολίται  
παρὰ Χερρόνη[σων]  
Λιμναῖοι  
Τυρόδιζα  
Δαρεῖον παρὰ  
τῆμ Μυσίαν  
. . ρεια παρὰ  
[Βρύ]λλειον  
. . . . ια  
[Ἄρταίου] τεῖχος  
[ἐπὶ τῶι Ῥ]ύνδακι

---

Μυσ[οί ? - -]  
[Zελ]εῖα[ται]  
[Παρι]ανο[ί]  
[Δαρδ]ανῆς  
[Χερρ]ονησῖ[ται]  
[ἀπ' Ἄγ]ορᾶς  
. . . . υλη

. . . . ἀνίται  
 [Βρυλ]λειανολ  
 'Ελαι]ούσιοι  
 [έν Χε]ρρονήσῳι  
 [Βύσβι]κος  
 [Νεαν]δρειῆς  
 [Κυξι]κηνοί (or 'Αρτακηνοί or 'Αστακηνοί)  
 ['Αλω]ποκοννήσιοι  
 [Μαδύ]τιοι  
 [Λαμ]πωνειῆς  
 . . . . . ατρο . κα  
 . . . . . νῆς  
 [Περκ]ώσιο[ι]  
 [Κιαν]οί  
 ['Αβυδη]νο[ί] (or Παισηνοί)  
 [Τενέδ]ιο[ι] (or Σκάφσιοι)  
 . . . . . εἰ . .  
 [Σιγει]ῆς  
 [Σήστι]οι  
 [Δαυνι]οτε[ι]χίται (or Διδυμοτειχίται)  
 [Καλλι]πολίται  
 [Πρίαπ]ος  
 . . . . . άριο[ι]  
 [Κεβρή]νιοι  
 [Παλαι]περκ[ώσιοι]  
 . . . . . ιο[ι]

---

4000 dr.	XXXX	Σου - -
1000 dr.	X	'Αρταίο[ν? ἐπὶ τῶι] 'Ρύνδακι
2000 dr.	XX	'Οτληνοί
100 dr.	H	Πυθοπολίτα[ι]
1 tal.	T	Μητρόπολις παρὰ Πρίαπον
2 tal.	[T]T	B[ι]σάνθη
295 tal., 5300 dr., &c.	{ [E]λλη[σ]ποντίου φόρ[ου] [κ]εφάλα[ι]ον [H H] [P] [A] [A] [A] [A] [P] [P] H H H - - -	

(o)	[Ἄκ]ταῖαι πόλεις (cp. Thuk. iv. 52).	
	[. . Τ]Τ	Ἄνταν[δ]ρο[s]
	--	Ῥοίτειον
	--	Νῆσος Πορδοσελήνη
	--	[Ἄμαχ]σιτός
	--	[Λάρι]σα
	--	[Ἀχιλλ]εῖον
	--	---
	--	--- von
		( <i>Lacuna of 7 lines.</i> )
	--	----- a

(p) *Thracian Tribute; (very imperfect).*

		---
2 tal.	ΤΤ	Ι . . . . . a
1 tal., 3000 dr.	ΤΧΧΧ	Ο . . . . . ιον
1000 dr.	Χ	Κ[ίθας?]
500 dr.	Ϝ	Π[ο]σίδειο[v]
	--	Ἀκρόθωιοι
		οἱ ἐν Ἀθωι
	--	Πλεύμη
	--	Θέστωρος
	-- (in rasura)	{ . ἴωρος
		{ Σίνος
		{ [Τριπ]οαί
	--	--
	--	-- η
	-	-- δος
		( <i>Lacuna.</i> )
2000 dr.	ΧΧ	---
3000 + dr.	ΧΧΧ -	---
100 dr.	Η	Κλ[εωναί]
1000 dr.	Χ	Ῥοθό[ριοι]
500 dr.	Ϝ	Ἰστασο[s]
500 dr.	Ϝ	Αἰολίτα[ι]
500 dr.	Ϝ	Ζέρεια
500 dr.	Ϝ	Φαρβήλιοι
500 dr.	Ϝ	Σέρμη
100 dr.	Η	Ἡράκλειον

10 tal.	∠ (?)	Σίγγιοι
10 tal.	∠ (?)	Μηκυβερναῖοι
10 tal.	∠ (?)	Γαλαῖοι
1 tal.	∟	Τράϊλος
1000 dr.	X	Βορμίσκος
2 tal.	∟∟	Ζώνη παρὰ Σέρρειον
1 tal.	∟	Δρῦς παρὰ Σέρρειον
3000 dr.	XXX	Σάλ[η]
1000 dr.	X	Πο[τειδαιᾶται]
		- - -
		( <i>Lacuna.</i> )
--	--	[Σ]τρεφσαῖο[ι]
--	--	[Πί]ερες [έν]
		[Περ]γάμ[ωι]
		( <i>Lacuna.</i> )
--	--	Σ - -
--	--	Ο - - -
--	--	Σπ[αρτώλιοι]
--	--	Ἐφ[υταῖοι]
-	--	Πεπ[αρήθιοι]
--	--	Ἐκά[υθιοι]
--	-	Αἴν[ιοι] (or Αἰνεᾶται)
-	--	Κοσσ[αῖοι]
--		Πολι - -
--	--	παρὰ Σ-- (or παρ' Ἀσ[σηρα])
--	--	[Θ]ύσσι[οι]
--	--	[Δι]ῆς
		[ἐκ τοῦ ἘΑθω]
		( <i>Lacuna.</i> )

The lowest part of the stele has been found by Dr. Wilhelm (*Jahresh. des Oesterr. Inst. i., Beiblatt*, p. 43) in a large block consisting of three pieces, one of them being *C. I. A. i. 544*. This fragment reads . ∟∟∟∟∟∟<sup>∟</sup> - - ; and the numeral in the vacant space on the left must have been 500 or 1000. The latter is improbable, and we may therefore take the sum to have been a little more than 960 talents.

This document is the only extant example of its kind, and it is unfortunate that it is not entire. But, quite apart from the fragment identified by Wilhelm, a comparison with the Quota-lists, nos. 33, 43, 48, will show that this assessment largely exceeded the previous payments. The tribute from the Hellespont is nearly tripled; that of the Islands is about doubled. It is well known that Grote refused to believe in the duplication of the tribute, which is asserted by Aischines (*F. L.* p. 337), Andokides (*de Pace*, 9), Pseudo-Andokides (*contr. Alcib.* 11), and less strongly by Plutarch (*Aristides*, 24). Whether or no it should be ascribed to Alkibiades' influence may be questioned; but the fact of a large increase no longer need be doubted, nor that it was the result of that ambitious policy which misled Athens after Perikles' death (B. C. 429). Pedrolì (p. 204) calculates the total to have been about 1000 talents, and not 1200 as stated by Andokides, or 1300 as by Plutarch.

Observe the method of making the new assessments. The process closely resembled the method adopted by the Athenians in the revision of their laws, whether at the annual revision described by Demosthenes (*adv. Timocr.* 706 foll.), or at the extraordinary revision B. C. 403 (see Andok. *de Myst.* 83). In other words, the assessment of tribute was not managed by a ψήφισμα of the people, nor by a committee appointed by it, but was effected with the same solemnity as an alteration of the laws. *First*, the ἐκκλησία voted that a re-assessment should be made. *Next*, the prytanes were bound, under penalties of fines (*e, f*) to prepare a προβούλευμα and bring the matter before the ἐκκλησία by a certain time. *Thirdly*, the ἐκκλησία had to appoint two commissioners (τάκται, *c*) for each tribute-district. The tributaries having prepared statements of their liability to tribute, the duty of the τάκται was probably to examine into and if necessary revise these statements. On the basis of the schedules thus prepared, the Council imposed the tribute. (In a few cases, states seem to have been exempted from the usual course; see p. 81.) During the deliberations of the Council on this matter, the several tributaries were entitled to represent their own interests (cp. no. 40, ll. 26, 27). Possibly the rubric πόλεις ἄς

οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραφσαν φόρον φέρειν refers to something of this kind; but it is by no means certain (see Busolt, *op. cit.* p. 210, note 1). From the decision of the Council, there was an appeal to the people; such cases of appeal were brought before the δικαστήριον by the εἰσαγωγεῖς (*h* and *k*; cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 52: κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰσαγωγέας πέντε ἄνδρας, οἳ τὰς ἐμμήνους εἰσάγουσι δίκας, δυοῖν φυλαῖν ἕκαστος). The decision of the people was final. Many points in the procedure just described are very uncertain; for the latest discussion see the article by Bannier cited above.

## 65 [48].

## List of the Quota of Tribute paid to Athena in the year B. C. 425.

The text is given from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* 259: cp. Köhler, p. 76; Michel, *Recueil*, 562.

This list must be earlier than B. C. 424, when many of the cities here named under the Θράκιος φόρος were seduced by Brasidas from alliance with Athens. The sums however show that they are calculated upon a larger scale than that shown in nos. 33, 43, and 48; accordingly they may be the first list drawn up after the assessment of B. C. 425. In the later lists it seems that all the ten Hellenotamiai were named; in no. 43 only their foreman is named.

[Ἐπὶ τῆς τριακοστῆς ἀρχῆς, ἦνι - - - - ἐγραμμάτευε].

[Ἑλληνοταμίαι ἦσαν - - - - , - - - - , - - - - ,]

[- - - - , - - - - , Διο[νύ]σιο[ς] Ἀχαρνεύς, [- - - - , - - -]

[- - -]ιος, Αἰσχρων Μαραθώνιος, Φιλωτάδης Παλλη[νεύς].

(Column 1 on the marble)

[Ἰωνικός].

- - - - -

5 - - - - - οἱ

- - - - - τ]αι

- - - - [Θερμαῖο]ι ἐξ Ἰκάρου

- - - - - οἱ

- - - - - ι ἐξ Ῥόδου

10 - - - - [Πεδιῆς] ἐγ Λίνδου

- - - - [Καρπά]θιοι

- - - - - οἱ

- - - - - οἱ

- - - - -

15 - - - - [Χαλκει]ᾶται

- - - - [Πελειᾶ]ται ἀπὸ Καρίας



- - - - [Ἐρυθρα]ῖοι  
 - - - - [Βουθει]ῆς Ἐρυθραίων  
 - - - - [Πτελεόν]σιοι Ἐρυθραίων  
 20 - - - - [Ἐλαιούσι]οι Ἐρυθραίων  
 - - - - [Πολιχνα]ῖοι Ἐρυθραίων  
 - - - - [Σιδούσιοι] Ἐρυθραίων  
 - - - - - - - - ι  
 - - - - [- - - ἦ]ς  
 25 - - - - - - -  
 - - - - [- - παρὰ Κα]ῦνο[ν]  
 - - [Καρβασουανδῆς παρὰ Κα]ῦνο[ν]

(Lacuna.)

(Column 2 on the marble.)

## Θράικιος.

ΔΔΓ Ἴκιοι  
 5 ΠΗΗΗ Μενδαῖοι  
 ΗΗΗ Μαρωνῖται  
 ΔΓΓΙΙΙΙ Σκιάθιοι  
 ΗΗΗ Ἄφυνταῖοι  
 ΧΧΧ Θάσιοι  
 10 ΗΗΗ Πεπαρήθιοι  
 Π Νεοπολῖται Μενδαίων  
 ΠΗΗΗΗ Σκιωναῖοι  
 Η Θύσσιοι  
 ΗΗ Σαμοθράικες  
 15 ΧΗΗ Τορωναῖοι  
 ΔΓΓΙΙΙΙ Σταγυρίται  
 ΗΗΗ Ἀκάνθιοι  
 ΔΓΓΙΙΙΙ Αἰνειᾶται  
 Η Διῆς ἐχς Ἄθω  
 20 ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ Ὀλοφύχσιοι ἐχς Ἄθω  
 Χ Ἀβδηρίται  
 ΔΓΓΙΙΙΙ Ἀργίλιοι  
 ΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΘ Θραμβαῖοι

ΠΓΓΓΓΓ Αἰγάντιοι  
 25 ΔΓΓΙΙΙΙ Σαναῖοι

(Column 3 on the marble.)

## Ἑλλησπόν[τιος].

ΠΠΔΔΔΔΓ Καλχ[ηδόνοιοι]  
 5 ΔΓΓΙΙΙΙ Κιαν[οί]  
 ΗΗΗ Προ[κοννήσιοι]  
 ΠΗΗΗΠΠΓΓΓΓ Κυζ[ικηνοί]  
 ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ Ἄρτ[ακηνοί]  
 ΔΓΓΙΙΙΙ Σιγρε[ιῆς]  
 10 ΗΠΠΔΔΔΔΓΓΓ Τενέ[διοι]  
 ΧΔΔΔΔΔΓ Λαμφ[σακηνοί]  
 Π Βρυ[λλειανοί]  
 ΔΓΓΓΓ Ἐλα[ιούσιοι]  
 ΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ [Λ]α[μπωνειῆς]  
 15 ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ [Α]β[υδηνοί]  
 ΧΧΗΠΠΓΓΓ Βυζ[άντιοι]  
 ΠΗΗΗΗ Ση[λυμβριανοί]  
 Χ Πε[ρίνθιοι]  
 ΗΠΠΔΔΔΔΓΓΓ Δαν[υιοτειχῖται]  
 20 ΔΓΓΙΙΙΙ Διδ[υμοτειχῖται]  
 ΓΓΓΓΓ Δασ[κύλειον]  
 ΔΔΔΔΓ Παρ[ιανοί]  
 ΓΓΓΓΓ Παλ[αιπερκώσιοι]  
 ΔΓΓΙΙΙΙ Πε[ρκώτη]  
 25 ΓΓΓΓΓ Ἀζ[ειῆς]  
 ΔΓΓΙΙΙΙ Πα[ισηνοί]  
 Γ Ἀ[ρπαγιανοί]  
 Γ[ΓΓΓΓ] - - - - -

(Lacuna.)

(Column 4 on the marble.)

[Νησιωτικός]

(Entirely lost.)

## 66 [50].

## Inventories of the Treasures in the Parthenon :

B. C. 422-421 to 419-418.

Στοιχηδόν. Kirchoff, *C. I. A.* i. 170-173; Michel, *Recueil*, 811. In four fragments, three of which are at Athens; the first and longest fragment was once said (see Böckh, *C. I. G.* 139) to exist among the Elgin marbles; but it is not so, and the fragment is now lost. Comp. Böckh, *Staatshaush.*<sup>3</sup> ii. pp. 142 foll.; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 296.

I. Ol. 89, 3; B. C. 422-421.

Θεοὶ ἐ - - -

Τάδε παρέδωσαν ἑαί τέτταρες ἀρχαί, ἑαί ἐδίδοσαν τῶν λόγων ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐ]ς Π[αναθήναια· τοῖς τα]μῖασι, ἑοῖς Πρεσβίας Σημῖου Φη] (γα)ιεὺς ἐγραμμάτεε, [ἑοὶ δὲ ταμίαι, ἑοῖς Πρεσβίας Σημῖου Φηγαίε] | ἐγραμμάτεε, παρέδωσαν τοῖς ταμίασι, ἑοῖς Νικέας Εὐ[θυ- κλέους ἑ] Αλιμούσιος ἐ]γραμμάτ[εε, Εὐφήμωι] || Κολλυτεῖ καὶ χσυν- ἀρχουσι,

ἐν τῶι Παρθενῶνι·

(1) στέφανος χ[ρυσσοῦς, σταθμὸν τού]του  $\square \Delta$ (2) φιάλα[ι χρυσαῖ  $\square$ , στ]αθμὸν τούτων  $\square \text{HH} \square \Delta \Delta \Delta \Gamma \vdash$ 

(3) χρυσοῖον ἄσημον, σταθμὸν τούτου (H) [ - -

(4) καρχήσιον χ[ρυσσοῦν τὸμ πυθ]μένα ἑ]υπάρ] (γυ)ρον ἑ]έχον, ἑ]ιερόν τοῦ ἑ]ρακλέους τοῦ ἐν ἑ]λαι(ε)ῖ, σταθμὸν τούτ[ου ΗΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ]

(5) ἡλω(δ)ύ]ο ἑ]υπαργύ]ρω καταχρ]ύσω, σταθμὸν τούτου Η... ΓΓΓΓ

(6) πρόσωπον ἑ]υπάργυρον κατὰ]χρυσον, σταθ]μὸν τούτου ΗΔΓΓ

(7) φ[ιάλαι ἀρ]γυραῖ ΗΔΔΔΓΓΓ, κέρασ ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτων ΤΤΧΧΧΗΗΗΓΓΓ

ἑ]Αριθμὸν τὰδ]ε·

(8) ἀκινάκαι περ[ίχρυσοι ΓΓ]

10 (9) λήϊομ περ[ίχρυσον, στάχυες Δ]

(10) [κ]ανῶ ἑ]υποχσύλω καταχρύσω [Ι]

(11) θυμιατήρι]ον ἑ]υπόχσυλον κατὰ]χρυσον [Ι]

(12) κόρη ἐπὶ στήλης κατὰ]χρυσος [Ι]

(13) κοίτη ἑ]υπόχσυλ[ος] κατὰ]χρυσ[ος] Ι

(14) Γοργ]όνειον, κάμπη ἐπ[ίχρυσ]α

(15) ἑ]ππ[ος], γρύψ, γρυπὸς προτομή, γρύψ, λέοντος κεφαλῆ, ἑ]δ[ρμ]ος ἀν[θέμων, δράκ]ων, ἐπ[ίχρυσ]α ταῦτα

- (16) *κυνῆ ἐπίχ]*ρυσος  
 (17) *ἀσπίδες ἐπίχρυσο[ι]ῦ* ὑπόχρυλοι ΔΓ  
 (18) *κ[λῖναι Χιουρ]*(γεῖ)ς [ΓΙΙΙ  
 (19) *κλῖναι* Μιλησιουργεῖς Δ  
 (20) *χσιφ[ομάχαιρα]*ι ΓΙΙΙΙ  
 (21) *χσίφη* Γ  
 (22) *θώρακες* Δ [ΓΙ]  
 (23) *ἀσπίδες ἐπίσημοι* [Ἄ]  
 (24) *ἀσπίδε[ς ἐπίχαλκοι ΔΔ]ΔΙ*  
 (25) *θ[ρ]όνοι* ΔΙΙ  
 (26) *δίφρο[ι]* ΙΙΙΙ  
 15 (27) *ὀκλαδ]]*ίαι ΓΙΙΙΙ  
 (28) *λύρα κατάχρυσο[ς]* Ι  
 (29) *λύραι ἐλεφάντιναι* ΙΙΙΙ  
 (30) *λύραι* ΙΙΙ  
 (31) *[τράπεζα ἤλ]εφαντωμένη*  
 (32) *κράνη* [χαλκᾶ ΙΙΙ  
 (33) *κ]*λιων πόδες [ἐπ]άργυρο[ι ΔΙΙΙ  
 (34) *π]έλ[τ]η*  
 (35) *φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ* ΙΙΙΙ, *κύλ(ι)κες* ΔΙΙΙ *ἀργυροῖ,* ἵππος ἀργυροῦς,  
*σταθμῶ]ν* τούτων ἸΗΗΗΗ  
 (36) *ἀσπίδε ἐπιχρῦσω* ὑποχρῦλω [ΔΙ]  
 (37) *ἀκινάκης ἐπίχρ[υσος, ἄσ]ταθμος*  
 (38) *φιάλα[ι ἀργυραῖ* ΓΙΙΙ, *στ]*αθμὸν τούτων ἸΗΗΗΓΓΓΓ  
 (39) *ποτ(ῆ)ρια Χαλκιδικὰ ἀργυρᾶ* ΙΙΙΙ, *σταθμὸν* [τούτων] ΗΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (40) *συβῆ]νη* ἡ παρὰ Μηθυ]μναίων ἐλεφαντίνη κατάχρυσος  
 (41) *ἀσπίς ἐγ* Λέσβου ἐπίσημος χρυσ[σῆ] Ι  
 (42) *ἐγ* Λέσβου Ἰλλυρικ[ὸν] χαλκοῦν  
 20 (43) *φιάλ[|α] ἀργυρᾶ* ΙΙ, *καρχησίω ἀργυρῶ* [Ι], *σταθμὸν* τούτων  
 ἸἸἸΔΔΔ  
 (44) *[Λέ]σ[β]ιοι* [κότυλοι] ἀργυροῖ ΙΙΙ, *σταθ[μὸν]* τούτων ΗΗ]ΗἸἸΔΔ  
 (45) *στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν* τούτου ΔΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (46) *στέφανος χρυσοῦ[ς, σταθ]μὸν* τούτου ΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (47) Ἀθηναίας Ν]ίκης *στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν* τούτου  
 ΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (48) *στέφανος χρυσ[οῦς, σταθ]μὸν* τούτου ΔΔΔΓΓΓ  
 (49) Ἀθηναίας Ν]ίκης *στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν* τούτου ΔΔΔΓΓΓ  
 (50) *τετράδραχμον* [χρυσοῦν, σ]ταθμὸν τούτου ΓΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (51) *ὄνυχς τῶ]ν* δακτ(ύ)λιον χρυσοῦν [ἐ]χ[ων, ἄ]σταθμο[ς]

## II. Ol. 89, 4; B. C. 421-420.

Τάδε ἴο[ι] ταμίαι(ι) [τῶν ἱερῶν χρη](μ)ά(τ)ω(ν) τῆς Ἀθηναίας, Εὐφῆμ[ος Κολλυτε]ῦς καὶ χσυν[άρχοντες, ἴοις Νικέ]ας [Ἄλιμοῦσιος ἐγραμμάτε]υε, π[αρ]έδοσαν το[ῖς] ταμίαισι, [ἴοις Ἐπιγέν]ης Λυσ[άνδρου Αἰγυλιεὺς ἐγραμμάτε]υε, Εὐφιλῆτῳ Κηφισιεῖ καὶ χσυν[άρχου]σι, παραδεχσάμενοι παρὰ τῶν προτέρων ταμιῶν, ἴοις Π[ρ]εσβίας [Σημίον Φηγαίε]υς ἐγραμμάτευε,

ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι.]

(The inventory for this year is lost).

## III. Ol. 90, 1; B. C. 420-419.

[Τάδε ἴοι ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας, Εὐφίλητος Κηφισιεῦς καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, ἴοις | Ἐπιγένης Λυσάνδρου Αἰγυλιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδοσαν τοῖς ταμ[ί]αισι, ἴοις Λυσίδικος . . . . .]. Χολαργεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, Λύκῳ Πρασιεῖ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, παρ[α]δεχσάμενοι παρὰ τῶν προτέρων ταμ[ί]ων, ἴοις Νικέας Ἄλιμοῦσιος ἐγραμμάτευε,

ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι.]

(1) στέφανο[s χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου]  $\Gamma^{\Delta}$

5 (2) φ[ι]άλαι χρυσαῖ  $\Gamma$ , σταθμὸν τούτων  $\Gamma^{\text{HH}}\Gamma^{\Delta\Delta\Delta}\text{H}$

(3) χρυσίου ἄσημον, στ[α]θμὸν τ[ούτου]  $\text{H}$  -

(4) καρρήσιον χρυσοῦν | τ]ὸμ πυθμένα ἔχον, ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ ἐν Ἐλαεῖ, σ]ταθμ[ὸν τούτου]  $\text{H}\Delta\Delta\Delta\Gamma\text{H}$

(5) ἦλω δύο ἔ]παργύρω καταχρύσω, στα[θμὸν τούτων]  $\text{H} . . . \text{H}\text{H}\text{H}$

(6) πρόσωπον ἔ]παργύρον κατάχρυσον, σταθμὸν τούτ]ου  $\text{H}\Delta\Gamma\text{H}$

(7) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ  $\text{H}\Delta\Delta\Delta[\Gamma]\text{H}$ , κέρας ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτων  $\text{T}\text{T}\text{X}\text{X}\text{X}\text{H}\text{H}\text{H}\text{H}\Gamma\text{H}$

Ἄριθμὸν τάδε·

(8) ἀκινάκα]ι περίχρυσοι  $\Gamma\text{I}$

(9) λήϊομ περίχρυσ[ον, στάχυες]  $\Delta\text{I}$

(10) κανὼ ἔ]ποχσύλω καταχρύσω  $\text{H}$

10 (11) θυμιατήριον ἔ]ποχσυσ]λον κατάχρυσον |

(12) κόρη ἐπὶ στήλη[s κατάχρυσ]ος  $\text{I}$

(13) κοίτη ἔ]ποχσυσλος κατάχρυσος  $\text{I}$

(14) Γοργόνειον, κάμπ]η ἐπίχρυσα

(15) ἵππος, γρύψ, γρυπὸς προτομή, γρ[ύψ], λέοντος κεφαλῆ, ὄρμος ἀνθέμων, δράκων, ἐπίχρυσα] | ταῦτα

- (16) *κυνῆ ἐπίχρυσος.*  
 (17) *ἀσπίδες ἐπίχρυσοι ἕ[υπόχ]συλοι ΔΓ*  
 (18) *κλῖναι Χιουργεῖς ΓΙΙΙ*  
 (19) *κλῖναι Μιλησιουργεῖς] | Δ*  
 (20) *χσιφομάχαιραι ΓΙΙΙΙ*  
 (21) *χσίφη Γ*  
 (22) *θώρακες ΔΓΙ*  
 (23) *ἀσπί[δες ἐπίσημοι] ϜΙ*  
 (24) *ἀσπίδες ἐπίχαλκοι ΔΔΔΙ*  
 (25) *θρόνοι ΔΙΙ] |*  
 (26) *δίφροι ΙΙΙΙ*  
 (27) *ὀκλαδῖαι ΓΙΙΙΙ*  
 (28) *λύρα κατάχρυσος Ι*  
 (29) *λύραι [ἐλεφάντιναι ΙΙΙΙ*  
 (30) *λύραι ΙΙΙΙ*  
 (31) *τράπεζα ἠλεφαντωμένη] ||*  
 15 (32) *κράνη χαλκᾶ ΙΙΙ*  
 (33) *κλιῶν πόδες ἐπάργυροι ΔΙΙΙ*  
 (34) *πέλτη*  
 (35) *φι[άλαι ἀργυραῖ ΙΙΙΙ, κύλικες ἀργυροῖ ΔΙΙΙ, ἵππος ἀ]ργυροῦς,*  
*σταθμὸν τούτων ϜΗΗΗΗ*  
 (36) *ἀσπίδε ἐπιχρῦσω ἕ[υπ[οχ]σύλω ΙΙ*  
 (37) *ἀκινάκης ἐπίχρυσος, ἄσταθμος*  
 (38) *φιάλα[ι] ἀργυραῖ ΓΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ϜΗΗΗΓΓΓΓ*  
 (39) *ποτήρια Χαλ[κιδικὰ ἀργυρᾶ ΙΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ*  
 (40) *συβ[ή]νη ἡ παρὰ Μηθυμναίων ἐλεφαντίνη κατάχρυσος*  
 (41) *ἀσ[πίς] ἐγ Λέσβου ἐπίσημος χρυσῆ Ι*  
 (42) *ἐγ Λέσβου Ἰλλυρι]κὸν χαλκοῦν*  
 (43) *φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ ΙΙ, καρρησίω ἀργυρῶ ΙΙ, σταθμ[ὸν] τούτων*  
*ϜϜΔΔΔ*  
 20 (44) *Λέσβιοι κότυλοι ἀργυροῖ ΙΙΙ, στ]||αθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗϜΔΔ*  
 (45) *στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου [ΔΓΓΓΓΓΙΙΙ*  
 (46) *στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΓ]ΓΓΓΓ*  
 (47) *Ἀθηναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου [ΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓ*  
 (48) *στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔ]ΔΓΓΓ*  
 (49) *Ἀθηναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ*  
 (50) *τετράδραχμον χρυσοῦν, σταθμὸν τούτ]ου ΓΓΓΓΙΙ*  
 (51) *ὄνυχς τὸν δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν ἔχων, ἄσταθμος. |*

## IV. Ol. 90, 2; B. C. 419-418.

Τάδε οἱ ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναί[α]ς, Λύκων Πρασιεὺς καὶ χουνάρχοντες, [ῥοῖς Λυσίδικος Χολαργεὺς ἐγραμμάτενε, παρέδοσαν τοῖς ταμίαισι, ῥοῖς Φορ]μίωιν Κυδαθηναίεὺς ἐγραμμάτενε, Χαρίνωι Ἀλεχσιμάχου [Π]ήληκι (καὶ χουνάρχονσι *omitted*), παραδεχσάμενοι παρὰ [τῶν προτέρων ταμιῶν, ῥοῖς Ἐπιγένης Αἰγυλιεὺς ἐγραμμάτενε,

ἐν τῶι Παρθε]νῶνι·

- (1) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου  $\Gamma\Delta$   
 (2) φιάλαι χρυσαῖ  $\Gamma$ , σταθμὸν τούτων  $\Gamma\text{HH}\Gamma\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{H}$   
 (3) χρ[υσιόν ἄσημον, σταθμὸν τούτου H -  
 (4) καρρήσιον χρυσοῦν τὸν πυθμένα ὑπάργυρο]ν ἔχον, ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ ἐν Ἐλαεῖ, σταθμὸν τούτου  $\text{H}\Delta\Delta\Delta\Gamma\text{H}\text{H}$   
 (5) ἦλω δύο ὑπαργύρω κατ[αχρύσω, σταθμὸν τούτοις H . . . HHH  
 5 (6) πρόσωπον ὑπάργυρον κατάχρυσον, στ]αθμὸν τούτου (H) $\Delta\Gamma\text{H}$   
 (7) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ  $\text{H}\Delta\Delta\Delta\Gamma\text{H}$ , κέρασ ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτων  $\text{T}\text{T}\text{X}\text{X}\text{H}\text{H}\text{H}\Gamma\text{H}$   
 Ἄριθμὸν τάδε·  
 (8) ἀκινάκαι περίχρυσοι  $\Gamma\text{I}$   
 (9) λήϊοι περίχρυσον, στάχυες  $\Delta\text{I}$   
 (10) καν]ῶ ὑποχύλω καταχ(ρ)ύσω  $\text{H}$   
 (11) θυμιατήριον ὑπόχυλον κατάχρυσον  $\text{I}$   
 (12) κόρη ἐπὶ στήλης κα[τάχρυσος  
 (13) κώπη ὑπόχυλος κατάχρυσος  $\text{I}$   
 (14) Γοργόνειον, κάμπη ἐπίχρυσος  
 (15) ἔ]ππος, γρύψ, γρυπὸς προτομή, γρύψ, λέοντος κεφαλὴ, ὄρμος ἀνθέμων, δράκων, ἐπίχρυσ[α ταῦτα  
 (16) κυνὴ ἐπίχρυσος  
 (17) ἀσπίδες ἐπίχρυσοι ὑπόχυλοι  $\Delta\Gamma$   
 (18) κλίμαι Χιουργεῖς  $\Gamma\text{H}$  |  
 (19) κλίμαι Μιλησιουργεῖς  $\Delta$   
 (20) χσιφομάχαιραι  $\Gamma\text{H}$   
 (21) χσίφη  $\Gamma$   
 (22) θώρακες  $\Delta\Gamma\text{I}$   
 (23) ἀσπίδες ἐπίσημοι [ $\Gamma$ ]  
 (24) ἀσπίδες ἐπίχαλκοι  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{I}$   
 (25) θρόνοι  $\Delta\text{H}$   
 (26) δῖφοι  $\text{H}\text{H}\text{H}$

- (27) ὀκλαδίαι Γ|||  
 (28) λύρα κατάχρυσος |  
 (29) λ||ύραι ἐλεφάντιναι ||||  
 (30) λύραι ||||  
 (31) τράπεζα ἠλεφαντωμένη  
 (32) κράνη χαλκᾶ |||  
 (33) κλιῶν πόδες ἐ[πάργυροι Δ|||  
 (34) πέλτη  
 (35) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ||||, κύλικες ἀργυραῖ Δ|||, ἵππος ἀργυροῦς,  
 10 στα|||θμὸν τούτων Γ|||  
 (36) ἀσπίδες ἐπιχρῦσῳ ὑποχρῦσῳ ||  
 (37) ἀκινάκης ἐπίχρυσος ἀσταθμο[s  
 (38) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ|||, σταθμὸν τούτων Γ|||  
 (39) ποτήρια Χαλκιδικὰ ἀργυρᾶ ||||, σταθμ|||δὸν τούτων ἠΔΔ|||  
 (40) συβήνη ἕτη παρὰ Μηθυμναίων ἐλεφαντίνῃ κατάχρυσος  
 (41) ἀσπίς [ἐγ Λέσβου ἐπίσημος χρυσοῖ |  
 (42) ἐγ Λέσβου Ἰλλυρικὸν χαλκοῦν  
 (43) φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ ||, καρχησιῶ ἀρ|||γυρῶ ||, σταθμὸν τούτων  
 Γ|||  
 (44) Λέσβιοι κότυλοι ἀργυροῖ |||, σταθμὸν τούτων Η|||  
 (45) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου Δ|||  
 (46) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου Δ|||  
 (47) Ἀθηναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου Δ|||  
 (48) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, [σταθμὸν τούτου Δ|||  
 (49) Ἀθηναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου Δ|||  
 (50) τε|||τράδραχμον χρυσοῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου Γ|||  
 (51) ὄνυχς τὸν δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν ἔχων, ἀ[σταθμος].

In B.C. 438 the Parthenon was dedicated to serve as the central point of the national festival, and as the bank of the state. The building contained three treasure-houses. At the East you entered the *Pronaos* (*πρόνεως*), in which was stored a large collection of sacred objects, chiefly of silver. From the *Pronaos* a massive door opened into the *Hekatompedos* (or *cella*), so called from its length: here were kept a number of chaplets (*στέφανοι*) and other objects, chiefly golden. Back to back with the *Hekatompedos* and without any connecting door was the western chamber, entered from the West, the *Parthenon* proper; this name was in use for the

chamber before the statue by Pheidias came to be known by the name of Parthenos. In addition the *Opisthodomos* or back cella of the Old Temple of Athena, ruined by the Persians, had been rebuilt before the Parthenon, and in this the money-treasure of the state was kept, with other more sacred funds (see no. 49). Herodotos (viii. 51) speaks of treasures being kept on the Akropolis by the *ταμίαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. And for some time before the Parthenon was dedicated in B.C. 438 there had been a board of ten *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας* elected yearly by lot (one from each tribe) from among the *pentakosiomedimnoi*. The Panathenaia were celebrated yearly on a small scale; but it was every fourth year (the third of each Olympiad) that the grand festival took place. Accordingly, the accounts of these Treasurers, although audited yearly, were inscribed for a *πεντετηρίς* at a time, *ἐκ Παναθηναίων εἰς Παναθήναια*. The blocks containing these inventories have been found at various times on the Akropolis, and they present an almost complete series from B.C. 434 down to the fall of Athens in 404 B.C. These accounts refer only to the treasures *in kind* in the Pronaos, Hekatompedos, and Parthenon, giving separate inventories of each collection year by year (see Kirchhoff, *C.I.A.* i. 117 foll.). We have given specimens of each kind in nos. 66, 67, and 71, of which the last two are in the British Museum. It is comparatively easy to restore the lacunae in these inventories, since the same objects recur in each. Thukydidēs reveals his familiarity with the system by which the Athenian treasures were kept, in the words he puts into the mouth of Perikles (ii. 13). In that review of the resources of Athens, after the tribute and the coined money in the *Opisthodomos*, we hear of the *ἀναθήματα* in the Pronaos, Hekatompedos, and Parthenon: *χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περὶ τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκῦλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων*. Next he alludes to the treasures of the 'other gods' (see no. 49): *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς χρῆσθαι αὐτούς*. Lastly, he mentions the gold plates which formed part of the chryselephantine statue itself: *καὶ ἦν πᾶν ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις*



χρυσίοις κ.τ.λ. The statue is not included in the regular lists of the treasurers: Köhler (*Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, 1879, p. 89) proves that a separate inventory of the statue, at least from 385 B.C., was kept in the temple, and the treasurers contented themselves with certifying every year that the statue and its belongings were all safe *κατὰ τὴν στήλην*. The inventories, after the fall of Athens 404 B.C., reveal the losses which the treasuries had sustained; and it was reserved for the orator Lykurgos to endeavour to rearrange and make the best of the treasures still remaining.

The articles from Lesbos (40-44) are not found in the earlier treasure-lists of B.C. 434-432, and probably made their way into the treasury in consequence of the Lesbian affair of B.C. 428-427.

## 67 [51].

**Inventories of the Treasures in the Hekatompedos :  
B. C. 422-421, 421-420.**

Στοιχηδόν. Slab in the British Museum: the text from *Greek Inscr. in the B. M.* i. no. 27; Kirchoff, *C. I. A.* i. 153-154, iv. pp. 27 foll.; comp. Böckh, *Staatsh.*<sup>3</sup> ii. p. 163 sq.; Michaelis, *Parth.* p. 299; Michel, *Recueil*, 812. The slab contains the inventories for four consecutive years, of which we give only the first two.

[Θ]ε[οί].

I. Ol. 89. 3; B.C. 422-421: [Τάδ]ε παρέδοσαν ἑαί τέτταρες ἀρχαί, [ἑαί ἐδ]ίδουσ[αν τὸν λόγον ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παν]αθήνα[ια τοί]ς ταμίαισι ἑοῖς Πρεσβίας Σημίου Φηγαί[ε]υ[ς] ἐγραμμάτετε, ἑοὶ δὲ ταμίαι ἑοῖς Πρεσβί[α]ς Σημίου Φηγαί[ε]υ[ς] ἐγραμμάτετε παρέδοσαν τοῖς ταμίαισι ἑοῖς Νικέας Εὐθυκλέους ἑαλιμούσιος ἐ[γ]ραμμάτετε, 5 E||ὑφήμ]ω[ι] Κολλ[υ]τεῖ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι,

ἐν τῶι νε]ῶ[ι τῶι ἑκατομπέδωι·

(1) φιάλαι χρυσαῖ |||, σταθμῶ]ν το[ύ]τ[ω]ν XX|<sup>Π</sup> Δ Δ Δ Δ [Τ Τ Τ Τ

(2) κόρη χρυσῆ ἐπὶ στήλης, ἄστ]αθ[μο]ς

(3) ἀπορραντήριον ἀργυροῦν, ἄσταθμον

(4) στεφάνω [χρ]υσῶ ||], σ[τ]αθμ[ὸ]ν τούτοιον <sup>Π</sup> Δ Δ Δ

(5) στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἑὸν ἢ Νίκη ἔχει, σταθμὸν τούτου <sup>Π</sup> Δ Δ

(6) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ | Π ||], σ[τ]αθμ[ὸ]ν τούτων <sup>Π</sup> Η Η Η Η

- (7) *καρχήσιον ἀργυ]ροῦ[ν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΗΗ*  
 (8) *καρχήσιον ἀργυροῦν Διὸς Πολι[ῶ]ς], σ[τα]θμὸ[ν] τούτου ΗΗ*  
 (9) *στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν [τούτου . . . ἑῑῑῑ]*  
 10 (10) *στεφάνη χρυσῆ, σταθμὸν ταύτης*  $\square \Delta \Gamma \|\ \|\ \|\ \|\ \|\$   
 (11) *στέφανο[ι χρυσοῖ ἑῑῑῑ], σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΔΔΔ]Γ[ἑῑῑῑ]*  
*Ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν ταμιῶν, τοῖς Πρε]σβιά[ς Ση]-*  
*μ[ίου Φ]ηγα[ιεύς ἐγραμμάτευε*  
 (12) *στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΓἑῑῑῑ*  
 (13) *χρυσίδε ἑῑ, σταθμ]ὸν [τ]ούτο]ιν [Η]Η $\square$ [ΔΔΔΔἑῑῑῑ]*  
 (14) *χρυσίς, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΔΔΔΓἑῑῑῑ] |*

II. Ol. 89. 4; B. C. 421-420: [Τάδ]ε το[ι] τα[μ]ί[αι τῶν ἱερῶν  
 χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας Εὐφήμος Κολλυτεὺς καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, τοῖς |  
 Νικέας Εὐθυκλέους Ἀλιμούσιος ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδωσαν τοῖς ταμίαςι  
 15 τοῖς Ἐπιγένης Λυσάνδρον || Αἰγίλιεύς [ἐγραμμάτευε Εὐφιλήτωι Κη-  
 φισιεῖ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, παραδεχσάμενοι παρὰ τῶν προτέ]ρων ταμιῶν,

[ἐν τῷ νεῶι τῷ Ἐκατομπέδωι]

- (1) *φιάλαι χρυσαῖ ἑῑῑ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΧΧ $\square$ ΔΔΔΔἑῑῑῑ*  
 (2) *κόρη χ[ρ]υσῆ ἐπὶ στήλ[ης], ἄσταθμος*  
 (3) *ἀπορραντήριον ἀργυροῦν, ἄσταθμος*  
 (4) *στεφάνω χρυσῶ ἑῑ, σταθμὸν τούτοι |  $\square$ ]ΔΔΔ*  
 (5) *στέφανος [χρυσοῦς ἔ]δν ἑ Νίκη ἔχει, σταθμὸν τούτου  $\square$ ΔΔ*  
 (6) *φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γἑῑῑ, σταθμὸν τούτων  $\square$ [Η]ΗΗ*  
 (7) *καρχήσιον [ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΗΗ*  
 (8) *καρχήσιον ἀργυροῦν Διὸς Πολιῶς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΗΗ*  
 20 (9) *στέ[φ]ανος χρυσοῦς, [στα]θμὸν τούτου . . . ἑῑῑῑῑ]*  
 (10) *σ[τ]εφά[ν]η χρυσῆ, σταθμὸν ταύτης  $\square$ Δἑῑῑῑ*  
 (11) *στέφανοι χρυσοῖ ἑῑῑῑ, | σ[τ]αθμὸν τούτω[ν ΗΔΔΔΓἑῑῑ]*  
 (12) *στέφανος χρυ]σοῦ[ς], σ[τ]αθμὸν τούτου ΔΓἑῑῑῑῑ*  
 (13) *χρυσίδε δύο, σταθμὸν τούτοι]ν ΗΗ[ $\square$ ]ΔΔΔΔἑῑῑῑῑ*  
 (14) *[χρυσίς ἑ, σταθμὸ]ν [ταύτ]ης ΗΔΔ[ΔΓἑῑῑῑῑ]*  
*Ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν ταμιῶν τοῖς Νικ[έα]ς Εὐθυκλέους*  
*[Ἀλιμούσι]ος ἐγραμμά]τευε*  
 (15) *χρ[υ]σ[ίς], σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΔΓἑῑῑῑῑ] |*

See notes on no. 66. Ἐπέτεια are additions made during the year.

## 68.

**Alliance between Athens and the Bottiaians : about B. C. 421.**

Six fragments of marble found at various times on the Akropolis. *Στοιχηδόν*. Lolling, *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολ.* 1890, p. 38; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 142; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 36; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 65, no. 82 (xv).

The first six lines are so badly broken that they admit of no restoration.

*Oath to be taken by both parties.*

. . τὸν δὲ ὄρκον ὁμόσαι ἑκατέρους, Ἀθηναίων μὲν τὴν  
 βουλὴν καὶ τ[οὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς, Βοττια]-  
 ῶν δὲ τὴν βου[λὴν καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς] κα[ὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀρ]-  
 10 χοντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς Βοτ[τι]α[ί]ων. ὅ δὲ ὄρκ[ο]-  
 ος ἔστω Ἀθη[ναί]οις ὅδε· ἀμυνῶ τοῖς] Βοτ[τι]α[ί]οις τοῖς]  
 χσυντιθεμέ[νοις τὰς ὁμολογίας, κ]αὶ τὴν χσ[υ]μμαχία-  
 ν] πιστῶς καὶ [ἀδόλως φυλάσσω Βοτ[τι]αί]οις προ[θυμούμε]-  
 ν]ος κατὰ τὰ χ[συγκείμενα]· καὶ οὐ μνη]σικακῆσω τῶ[ν παρ]-  
 15 οἰχομένων ἔ[νεκα. Βοττια]ῖοι δὲ ὁμν]ύοντων κατὰ [τάδε·]  
 φίλοι ἐσόμε[θα Ἀθηναί]οις καὶ χσ[ύμ]μαχοι πιστῶ[ς] κα[ὶ]  
 ἀδόλως καὶ τ[οὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθ]ροὺς νομιούμε[ν], ὅσ[ο]-  
 περ ἂν Ἀθηνα[ῖοι]· καὶ οὐκ ὠφελήσω τοῦ]ς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς Ἀθην-  
 αίων οὔτε χρ[ήματα παρέχων οὔτε δυ]νάμει οὐδεμῖαι, ο-  
 20 ὑδὲ μνησικ[ακῆσω τῶν παροιχομένων]ων ἔνεκα.

*Provision for the recording of the Treaty.*

τὰς δὲ χσυν-  
 νθήκας τὰς περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καταθ[ε]ῖναι Ἀθηναίους μὲ-  
 ν ἐμ[ὴ] π[ό]λ[ε]ι ἀναγράφσαντας ἐ[ν] στήλῃ] λιθίνῃ καὶ τὰ δυ-  
 [όμ]α[τ]α τῶν [πόλεων ἐγγράφσαντας τ]ῶν χσυντιθεμένων  
 τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν χσυμαχίαν, κα[ὶ] ἐπιγράψαι ἐν τ[ῇ]-  
 25 ἡ στήλῃ τοῦ ἀρχοντος τὸ ὄνομα, ἐφ' οὗ] ἐγένοντο αἱ χσ[υ]ν[θ]η[θ]-  
 ῆκαι· Βοττια[ῖοι] δ' ἐν στήλαις λιθί]ναις ἀναγράφ[σαντ]-  
 ες καταθέντ[ων διαπέμφσαντες κ]ατὰ πόλεις ἐπι[γ]ράφ[σ]-  
 αυτες ἐν ταῖς στήλαις τῶν ἀρχόν]των τὰ ὀνόμα[τα τῶν Β]-  
 οττιαίων, ἐφ' [ἧ] ὄν ἐγένοντο αἱ χσυνθῆ]κ[αι].

*Choice of Commissioners of Oaths, &c.*

τοὺς δὲ [ὄρκους]  
 30 οἰτίνας λή[φ]σονται παρὰ Βοττιαίων ἐλέσθαι τὸν δη]-

μον πέντε ἄν[δρας αὐτίκα μάλα . . . . . τοῦ]-  
 s δὲ ὁμήρους, ἵ[οὺς ἔχουσι - - -

A rider proposed by Eukrates, of which only a few words remain, followed; and finally there was the list of the cities, of which Καλίνδοι[α], Τριπο[αί], and [Κ]εμακαί(?) are preserved.

The Bottiaians had revolted from Athens in B. C. 432-431 (Thuk. i. 57, 58). Just ten years later (Thuk. v. 18) we find an agreement between Athens and Sparta to the effect that Spartolos (an important Bottiaian city) was to be allowed a free choice as to entering the Athenian confederacy. It was probably about the same time that the Athenians came to the agreement with other cities of the district which is recorded in this inscription. The treaty, it may be noted, is made separately with each Bottiaian city.

## 69 [52].

## Alliance between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis:

B. C. 420.

A fragment discovered near the Dionysiac theatre. Στοιχηδόν. C. I. A. iv (1), 46 b, p. 14; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* p. 76, no. 87 (xviii); Roberts-Gardner, ii. 20; cp. Kirchhoff in *Hermes*, xii. 368 (cp. 472); Reinach, *Traité d'Épigr.* p. 331; Herbst, *Hermes*, xxv. 374; Hude, *ibid.* xxvii. 152.

E	O	N
1	Π	Σ
	Α	Λ
	Ε	Λ
	Ο	Σ
	Η	
	Κ	Α
	Τ	Α
	Λ	Ε
	Ν	Κ
	Α	Ι
	Κ	Α
	Ι	Μ
	Α	Ν
	Τ	Ι
	Ν	Ε
	Α	Σ
5	Ν	Α
	Ι	Ο
	Σ	Κ
	Α	Ι
	Τ	Ο
	Σ	Χ
	Ν	Μ
	Α	Χ
	Ο	Σ
	Τ	Ε
	Χ	Ν
	Ε	Ι
	Ν	Τ
	Ι	Ν
	Ε	Α
	Σ	Κ
	Α	Ι
	Ε	Λ
	Μ	Α
	Ν	Τ
	Ι	Ν
	Ε	Α
	Σ	Κ
	Α	Ι
10	Ο	Τ
	Α	Τ
	Ο	Ι
	Κ	Α
	Τ	Α
	Τ	Ο
	Κ	Α
	Ι	Μ
	Α	Ν
	Τ	Ι
	Ν	Ε
	Α	Σ
	Υ	Σ
	Α	Τ
	Α	Λ
	Υ	Ε
	Ν	Δ
	Ε	Μ
	Ε	Ε
	Δ	Ο
	Κ	.
	Ι	Β
	Ο	Ε
	Θ	Ε
	Ν	Δ
	Ε	Ε
	Τ	Ε
	Ν	Α
	Ρ	Λ
	Ε	Ι
	Ο	Ν
	Ε	Ο
	Ν	Ε
	Ι	Α
	Ν	Δ
	Υ	Ν
	Ο	Ν
	Τ	Α
	Α	Τ
15	Τ	Ε
	Ν	Π
	Ο	Λ
	Ι	Ν
	Α	Ο
	Θ	

	Υ	Τ	Ο	Ν	Τ	Ο	Ν	Π		
	'	Ε	Α	Ν	Μ	Ε	Η	Α	Π	
		Υ	Τ	Ο	Ν	Κ	Α	Ι	Τ	
		Η	Α	Π	Α	Σ	Ο	Ν	Τ	
20		Π	Ο	Λ	.	.	Η	Ε	Π	
				Λ	Ε	Λ	Α	Σ		
				Ε	Π	Ο	Λ	Ι	Σ	
				Ο	Σ	Α	Ι	Λ	Ι	Ν
				Ν	Ε	Τ	Ε	Ι	Σ	
25				Ι	Σ	Τ	Α	Ι	Σ	
				Ο	Σ	Α	Ι	Λ		

Part of the original monument copied by Thuk. v. 47. We have therefore given it in uncials only. In line 1 we recognize the end of the heading, probably [Ἄργείων, Μαντινέων, Ἑλλ]ε[ί]ων. There are several slight discrepancies from Thukydides: in line 2 he omits *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*: in line 7 he inverts the order, giving Ἑλλείους καὶ Μαντινέας Ἀθήναζε, and similarly lines 8, 13. In line 24 the stone perhaps read [ἡ μεταπεμφσαμέ]νη τῇ σ[τρατι]ᾷ χ[ρ]ήσθω, ἡγεμονεύουσα, but the restoration is very uncertain. This fragment does not afford sure ground for estimating the value of our present text of Thukydides. Dr. Wilhelm points out that the importance of the discrepancies, as bearing on this question, has been much exaggerated; that the ancients did not like ourselves lay great stress on verbal accuracy in the transcription of documents; and that even official duplicates do not always exactly tally.

## 70 [53].

### Payments from the Treasures of Athena for public purposes: B. C. 418-415.

*Στοιχηδόν.* The text is mainly from Kirchoff, *C. I. A.* i. 180-183; cp. iv. (1), pp. 32, 70; Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.* 119-122; Böekh, *Staatsh.*<sup>3</sup> ii. 24 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 37; Michel, *Recueil*, 563; *Greek Inscr. in the B. M.* no. xxiii (one fragment); cp. B. Keil, *Hermes*, 29, pp. 50 foll.

#### FIRST YEAR: B. C. 418-417.

*First payment.* [Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήλωσαν ἐπὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἡ . . . . . πρῶτος ἐγγραμμάτευε. τ]αμίαι

Ἰ[ιερω̄ν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας, Πυθόδωρος Ἀλαιεύς καὶ χσυνάρχουτες, τοῖς Φορμίων Ἀριστίωνος Κυ]δαθηναίε[ῡς ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδωσαν Ἑλληνοταμίαις, Ἐργοκλεῖ Ἀριστείδου Βησαιεῖ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, καὶ παρέδροις, Ἰ[Ιεροκλεῖ Ἀρχεστράτου Ἀθμονεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσι, ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . . ἰδος πρώτης πρυτανευούσης καὶ ἡμέραι 5 δευτ[έρας] ἐραι καὶ τριακοστῆ τῆς πρυτανείας . . . ὥστε δοῦναι τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐς Ἀ]ργος τοῖς μετὰ Δημοσθένους. Ἐ[[δοχσεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι - - - - ἀποδοῦνα]ι τοὺς Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ [τ]οὺς παρέδρους τοῖς ταμίαις τῆς] θεοῦ, Πυθ[οδώρωι Ἀλαιεῖ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, καὶ τοὺς ταμ]ίας τῆς θεοῦ πάλιν παραδοῦ[ν]αι τοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις κ]αὶ τοῖς παρέδ[ρο]ις, τούτους δὲ δοῦναι στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ Θ]ράικης, Εὐθυδήμωι Εὐδήμωι | - - - -

Demosthenes was perhaps in charge of the Athenian forces which in the summer of B.C. 418 invested Epidaurus (Thuk. v. 75. 5), from which, later in the year, he was commissioned to withdraw the garrison (*ibid.* 80). There seems to have been some delay in the expedition: the grant was recalled, and then paid out again to Euthydemos and the forces in Thrace. For Euthydemos cp. Thuk. v. 19, 24; vii. 16, 69. The general sense of this clause is clear: see next payment. The *πάρεδροι* are 'assistants,' 'assessors.'

10 *Second payment.* [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος πρυτ]ανείας δευτέρας [πρυτανευούσης Ἑλληνοταμίαις, Ἐρ]γοκλεῖ Ἀριστείδου Βησαιεῖ, | [ - - Αἰχ]σωνεῖ καὶ συνάρχου[σι, καὶ παρέδροις, Ἰεροκλεῖ Ἀρχε]στράτου Ἀθμονεῖ καὶ συν[ά]ρ[χ]ουσι, τριακοστῆι ἡμέραι] τῆς πρυτανείας π[α]ρέδομεν - - - χρυσίου Κυζικηνοῦ στατήρ[α]ς XXXX . . | - - ἀργύριον τούτων - - - || . . τούτο τὸ χρυσίον παρέδομ[ε]ν τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐς Ἀ]ργος τοῖς μετὰ Δημ[ο]σθένους, φσηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου τῆν] ἄδειαν -

The sum granted was set down first in Kyzikene electrum staters, and then in Attic silver money. The value of the Κυζικηνός in Attic silver at this time is uncertain (see Th. Reinach, *Rev. Numism.* 1893, pp. 153 foll.). The *ἄδεια* required by no. 49 B was first voted, and then the Treasurers of Athena paid out the money, without promise of interest or of repayment.

15 *Third payment.* [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος - - - ]ης πρυτανευούσης,

ὁ[γδοῖμι καὶ - - - τῆι ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτ]ανείας στρατηγοῖς παρέδομ|[εν  
- - -]δηι, Αὐτοκλεί Ἐναφλ[υστίωι - - -] |

For Autokles see Thuk. iv. 53, 119 (B. C. 424-423).

*Fourth payment.* [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - ἰδος - - -]τῆς πρυτανευούσης  
τ[- - τῆι καὶ - - τῆι ἡμέραι τῆς π]ρυτανείας παρέδομεν τοῦ ἐχς |  
[- - -]πελθόντος Ἐλληνοτ[αμίαις, Ἐργοκλεί Ἀριστείδου Βησ]αιεῖ καὶ  
χσυνάρχουσι, κα[ι] παρ|[έδροις Χσ]ενο[φάνει ?, Ἴεροκλεί Ἀρχεστράτου  
20 [Ἀθμονεῖ - - ὁῦτοι δὲ ἔδοσαν] στρατηγοῖς, Νικίαι Νικηράτ|[ου  
Κυδαντ]ίδηι, Λ[υσιστρά]τωι Ἐ[μ]πέδου Ὀῆθεν κ - - -

Nikias led a force against Amphipolis this year: Thuk.  
v. 83.

*Total of payments made this year.* [Κε]φάλαι[ι]ον ἀναλώματος  
τοῦ] ἐπὶ τῆς | [ἀ]ρχῆς [Ἄ] . . . [Ἄ] . . . . . | |

#### SECOND YEAR: B. C. 417-416.

*First payment.* Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήλωσαν ἐ[πὶ Εὐφύμου ἀρχου]τος  
καὶ [ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ]ι . . . . . πρ[ώ]τος ἐγραμμάτευε. ταμίαι  
ἱε[ρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀ]θηναίας, Ἀναχσικράτης Λαμπτρέυς καὶ χσυνάρ-  
25 χοντες, ὁ[ῖς] Εὐχσενος Εὐφάνους Προσπάλτ|[ιος ἐγραμμάτευε, π[αρέ-  
δοσαν - - - στρατηγῶι ἐς] τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκιης, [Χ]α[ι]ρ[ή]μου Χ[α]ρι-  
κλέους Παιανε[ῖ], ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος - - - s πρυτανευούσης, ἡμέραι  
δευτέ[ρ]αι καὶ εἰκοστῆι τῆς πρυτα[νείας, φσηφισαμέ]νου τοῦ δήμου τὴν  
ἄδειαν - - - ].

Thukydides does not tell us anything about this.

*Second payment.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδο[s - - - s πρυτανευούσης παρ-  
έδομεν στρατηγοῖς ἐς Μῆλον, Τεισίαι Τεισιμάχου Κεφαλῆθεν, |  
Κλεομήδει Λυκο[μήδους Φλυεῖ, - - - ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας, φσηφισα-  
μέν]ου τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἄδειαν Ἄ |

Teisias and Kleomedes commanded the famous expedition  
against Melos, Thuk. v. 84.

30 *Third payment.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχ[ίδος - - - s πρυτανευούσης  
Ἐλληνοταμίαις παρέδομεν, - - ]ωι Α[ν]τ[ι]οχ[ίδηι, Τιμάρχωι Παλ]ληνεῖ καὶ  
στρα[τηγοῖς ἐς Μῆλον, Τεισίαι Τεισιμάχου Κεφαλῆθεν, Κλεομήδει  
Λυκομήδ]ους Φλυεῖ, τρίτηι καὶ δεκ|[άτηι ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας - - ]

*Total payments for this year.* [Κε]φάλαιον ἀναλώματος τοῦ  
ἐ]πὶ τῆς | [ἀ]ρχῆς - - -

THIRD YEAR: B. C. 416-415.

35 *First payment.* [Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήλωσαν ἐπὶ Ἀριμνήστου ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ̅ . . . . . πρῶτος ἐγγραμμάτευσ. ταμίαι | ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας, Δεχσίθεος Φλυάσιος καὶ χουνάρχοντες, τοῖς Λυσικλῆς Δ]ρακοντίδου Βατῆ[θεν | ἐγγραμμάτευσ, - - -

40 *Payment* \* - - - | - - || - - Νικαῖαι Νι]κηράτου Κυδαντίδῃ καὶ παρέδρο[ι - | - - -

*Payment* \* \* [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος - - - σ πρυτανευούσης - - ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας στρα]τηγοῖς ἐς Σικελίαν, Ἀλκιβιάδῃ Λαμάχῳ | - - Ἀντιμάχῳ Ἑρμείῳ Δ . .

*Payment* \* \* \* [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος - - - σ πρυτανευούσης - - ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας] στρατηγοῖς ἐς Σικελ[ίαν, Ἀ]λκιβιάδῃ, 45 Λαμυχῳ || - - - Ἀντιμάχῳ Ἑρμείῳ ΔΤΤΤΤΧ . . . Η

*Payment* \* \* \* \* [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - ἰδος - - - σ πρυτανευούσης - - - τῆς πρυτανείας ἡμέρ]αι, στρατηγοῖς ἐς Σικελίαν, Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, Λαμάχῳ | - - - Ἀντιμάχῳ Ἑρμείῳ χ[ρ]υσίου Κυ[ζ]ικη[νοῦ] στατήρ[as | - - -] ΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ

These payments were for the Sicilian expedition (Thuk. vi.): unhappily they are much broken. Antimachos does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

*Total payments for this year.* [Κεφάλαιον ἀναλώμα]τος τοῦ ἐπὶ 50 τῆς || [ἀρχῆς - - -] ΔΓΙΙΙΙΙ.

FOURTH YEAR: B. C. 415-414.

*First payment.* [Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήλωσαν ἐπὶ Χαρίου ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ̅ . . . . .] ἰδης πρῶτος ἐγγραμμάτευσ. ταμίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων | [τῆς Ἀθηναίας, Λεωχάρης . . . . . καὶ χουνάρχοντες, τοῖς Τελέα]ς Τελενίκου Περγασῆθεν ἐγγραμμάτευσ, παρέδοσαν στρα]τηγοῖς Τηλεφόνῳ [- - - - καὶ] παρέδρωι Φερεκλείδῃ Πειραιεῖ, φσηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμ[ου] τὴν ἄδειαν, ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος τρί[της πρυτανευούσης - - - ἡ] ἡμέρα[ι] τῆς πρυτανείας ΔΤΧΧΧ[Π]Η[Π] 55 ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ τε καὶ χρυσίου || Κυζικηνοῦ ΗΗΔΔΔΔΔΠΣΣΣΣ· τιμὴ τούτων γί(γ)υ[εται - - - - ξξξξξξξξ

The portion containing most of the fourth year is in the British Museum. The payment was made partly in Kyzikene



staters and partly in Attic money (the seven sigmas are interlined as an omission): then the total value (τιμή) was expressed in Attic money. Telephonos' command is unknown.

*Loans from the treasure of Athena: First loan.* Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις ἔδανείσα[μεν - - -] Ἀριστοκράτει Εὐωνυμῆϊ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, ΠΤΤΤΤ. οὔτοι δ' ἐξδοσαν ἀθλοθέταις ἐς Παναθήναια, Ἀμέμπτω[ι - - - καὶ χ]συνάρχουσι, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος δευτέρας πρυτανευούσ[η]s, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας.

The year according to which the Council held office did not coincide with the ordinary civil year (commencing on Hekatombaion 1st); in this month (on the 28th) the Panathenaia were celebrated, and we see that they coincided more or less with a late date (20th day) in the second prytany. From this it follows that the Council-year began early (about the 3rd) in the month Skirophorion.

*Second loan.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος τετάρτης πρυτανευούσης ἑ[έκτη] 60 ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις, Ἀριστοκρ[ά]τει Εὐωνυμῆϊ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, στρατιώταις ἐ[μ] Μήλωι? -] ΔΔ

*Third loan.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγδῆς πρυτανευούσης δεκ[ά]τη ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις, Ἀριστοκρ[ά]τει Εὐωνυμῆϊ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, στρατιώταις ἐμ Μ[ή]λωι? - - -

These soldiers may be those 'sent afterwards' to Melos under Philokrates, see Thuk. v. 116.

*Fourth loan.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγδῆς πρυτανευούσης τρί[τ]η καὶ δεκάτη τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις, Ἀριστοκρ[ά]τει Εὐωνυμῆϊ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, ΗΗΗΗ. οὔτοι δὲ ἐξδοσαν [τῇ ἐν Σικελίαι σ]τρατιᾷ.

65 *Fifth loan.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγδῆς πρυτανευούσης, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Ἀριστοκρ[ά]τει Εὐωνυμῆϊ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, ἐς τὰ(ς) ναῦς τὰς ἐς Σ[ικελίαν διακομ]ούσας] τὰ χρῆ[μ]ατα ΤΤΤΤΧΧ.

These restorations are sufficiently certain: see Thuk. vi. 93 *fin.*, where the wording resembles our inscription, and 94 *fin.* (300 talents).

*Sixth and seventh loans.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγδῆς πρυτανευούσης, δευτέ[ραι καὶ εἰκοστῇ ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας]s, Ἑλληνο-

ταμίαι καὶ παρέδρωι Φιλομή[λωι Μ]αραθωνίωι καὶ στρατηγῶι ἐν τῶι  
Θερμαίωι κόλπω[ι - - - - τῆ]ι αὐτῆι ἡμέραι Ἑλληνοταμίαι κ[αὶ παρέ]-  
δρωι Φιλομήλωι Μαραθωνίωι, καὶ στρατηγῶι ἐν Ἡ[ϊόνι? or  
E - - - -

The general was perhaps Euetion (Thuk. vii. 9).

Total of payments and loans made this year. Κεφάλαιον  
70 ἀνα[λώματος τ]οῦ ἐπὶ τ[ῆς] || ἀρχῆς ΗΗΗΗ<sup>Γ</sup>ΤΤΤ - - - -

## 71 [54].

## Inventories of the treasures in the Pronaos :

B. C. 414-413, 413-412.

Στοιχηδόν. On a broken block in the British Museum. The text from  
*Greek Inscr. in the B. M.* i. no. 26 ; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 133-134 ; ep. Böekh,  
*Staatsh.* 3 ii. pp. 190 foll. ; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 295 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 813.  
See notes on no. 66. The stone contains the inventories for four consecutive  
years, of which we give the first two.

I. Ol. 91. 3 ; B. C. 414-413 : [Τάδ]ε παρέδ[ο]σαν ἑται τέτταρ[ε]ς ἀρ-  
[χαί, ἑαὶ ἐδίδοσαν τὸν λόγον ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια, | τοῖ]ς  
ταμί[α]ις Τεισαμενῶι Παιαν[ι]εῖ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, ἑοῖς Πολυμήδης  
Κηφισίωνος Ἀτηνεὺς ἐγραμμά]τευε, ἑοῖ δὲ ταμίαι, ἑοῖς Πολυ[μήδης  
Κηφισίωνος Ἀτηνεὺς ἐγραμμά]τευε, παρέδοσαν τοῖς ταμί[α]ις Πολυ-  
χσευίδηι Ἀχαρνεῖ καὶ χ[συνάρχουσι, ἑοῖς Λευκαῖος Κωμάρχον Ἀφιδ-  
ναῖος ἐγραμμά]τευε, ||

5 ἐν τῶι] Πρόνεωι·

- (1) φιάλη χρυσοῦ, ἐχς ἧς ἀ[πορραίνονται, ἄσταθμος
- (2) φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ΗΔΔΙ, σταθμὸν τοῦ[τ]ων ΤΤΗ]ΗΗΗΔΔΔΤΤ
- (3) κέρατα ἀργυρᾶ ΙΙΙ, [σταθμὸν τούτων Γ<sup>Γ</sup>ΔΔΠΤΤΤ
- (4) ποτήρια ἀργυρᾶ Γ, σταθμὸν τούτων | Η<sup>Γ</sup>ΔΔΠΤΤΤ]
- (5) λύχνος ἀργυροῦς, σταθμὸν τ[ούτου] ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ
- (6) φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ΓΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων Γ<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗ
- (7) στέφαν[ος] χρυ[σοῦς], σταθ[μ]ὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΤΤΤΙΙ
- (8) φ[ιάλα] ἀργυρᾶ ΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗ
- (9) φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ΙΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων Η]ΗΗΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤ
- (10) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦ[ν], σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΔ
- 10 (11) φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ΓΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων Γ<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗ||ΗΗΔΔ
- (12) φ[ιάλα] ἀργυραὶ ΙΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τ[ούτων] ΗΗΗΗΔΔ
- (13) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΔ

- (14) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΔΔΔΔΔΤΤ[ΤΗ|  
 (15) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Ι||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΠ|  
 (16) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, | σταθμ]ὸν τούτου ΠΔΓΤ  
 (17) λύχνος ἀργυροῦ[ς, στ]αθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΤ|  
 (18) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΠΔΔΔΔ|ΔΤΤΤ  
 (19) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ, σταθμὸν [τούτω]ν ΗΗΗΗΔΤΤΤ  
 (20) ἀργυρίς, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΔΤ|  
 (21) ποτήριον ἀργυρ]οῦν ΔΔΔΔ]ΓΤ|  
 (22) ἀργυρίς Ι, σταθμὸν τα[ύτης] ΠΔ  
 (23) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤ  
 15 (24) ἀργυρίς Ι, σ||ταθμὸν τ]αύτης ΗΠ|ΤΤ|  
 (25) ποτήριον ἀ[ργυρ]οῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔ  
 (26) ἀργυρίδες ΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΠΔΔ|ΔΠΤ  
 (27) κύλι]χς ἀργυρᾶ, ἄσταθμος  
 (28) φιά[λη ἀργ]υρᾶ, σταθμὸν τ[αύτης] ΗΠΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ  
 (29) ἀργυρίδες ΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν | τούτων Π]ΗΗΠΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ  
     Ἐπέτεια ἐπ[εγέν]ετο ἐν τῶι Πρόν[εωι].  
 (30) ἀργυρίδες ΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗΔΠΤΤΤ| |

Π. ΟΙ. 91. 4; B.C. 413-412: [Τάδε ἔοι] ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρη[μά-  
 των] τῆς Ἀθηναίας Π[ολυ]χσενίδης Ἀχαρνέως καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, | ἔοις  
 Λευ]καῖος Κωμάρχου Ἀφιδνα[ῖος ἐγ]ρα[μ]μάτευσ, παρ[έ]δοσαν τοῖς  
 20 ταμίαις, ἔοις Αὐτοκλειδῆς || Σωστρά]του Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτ[ευσ,  
 Κα]λλαίσχρωι Εὐπ[υρ]ίδηι καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, παραδεχσάμενοι | παρὰ  
 τῶν] προτέρων ταμιῶν, ἔοις [Πο]λυ]μήδης Κηφισίω[ος Ἀ]τηνέως  
 ἐγραμμάτευσ,

ἐν τῶι Πρόν[εωι] |

- (2) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΤΤΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΤ|  
 (3) κ[έρα]τα ἀργυρᾶ ΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΔΔΠΤΤΤ| |  
 (4) ποτήρια ἀργυρᾶ Γ, σταθμὸν τούτω]ν ΗΠ]ΔΠΤ|  
 (5) λύχνος ἀργυροῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ  
 (6) φιάλαι ἀργυρᾶ Γ||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗ  
 (7) στέφα]νος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν [τουτου] ΔΔΔΤΤΤ|ΙΙ  
 25 (8) φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ ΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗ  
 (9) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΔΔΠΤ|ΤΤΤ  
 (10) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΔ |  
 (11) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ||, σταθμὸν τούτων Π]ΗΗΗΗΔΔ  
 (12) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΗΔΔ  
 (13) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν,] σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΔ

- (14) φιά[λα]ι ἀργυραῖ Γ||, στα[θμὸν τούτων] ΠΗΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ  
 (15) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ |||, | σταθμὸν τ[ούτων] ΗΗΠΓ  
 (16) ποτήριον ἀρ[γυ]ροῦν, σταθμὸν τού[του] ΠΔΓΓ  
 (17) λύχνος ἀργυροῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΓΓ |  
 (18) φιάλαι ἀρ[γυ]ραῖ |||, σταθμὸν τούτων [Η]ΗΠΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ  
 (19) φιάλ[αι ἀργυραῖ] Γ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΗΔΓΓΓ  
 30 (20) ἀ||ργυρίς |, σ[ταθμὸν ταύτης] ΗΔΓΓ  
 (21) ποτ[ή]ριον ἀργυροῦν, στα[θμὸν τούτου] ΔΔΔΔΓΓΓ  
 (22) ἀργυρίς |, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΠΔ  
 (23) ποτ[ή]ριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν [τ]ούτου ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (24) ἀρ[γυ]ρίς |, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΠΓΓΓ  
 (25) ποτήριον ἀρ[γυ]ροῦν, σ[ταθμὸν τούτου] ΔΔΔ  
 (26) ἀργυρί[δες] ||||, σταθμὸν τούτ[ων] ΗΗΗΠΔΔΔΓΓ  
 (27) κύλιχς ἀργυρᾶ, ἄσταθμος  
 (28) φι[ά]λη ἀργυρᾶ, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΠΔΔΔ[Δ]ΓΓΓ  
 (29) ἀργυρίδες ||||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗΠΔΔΔΓΓΓ  
 (30) ἀργυρίδες | |||, σταθμ[ὸν] τούτων ΠΗΗΔΓΓΓ  
 Ἐπέτε[ια] ἐπεγένετο· (31) ἀργυρίς, σταθμὸν ταύτης - - ||

## 72 [55].

**The Hermokopids; their goods confiscated: B. C. 414-413.**

Five fragments, relating to the same subject, but not all from one stone: *C. I. A.* i. 274-277 and iv (1), pp. 35 and 177: comp. Kirchhoff in *Jahn's Jahrbücher*, 1860, pp. 238 foll.; *Monatsber. d. Berl. Ak.* 1865, p. 545; Götz, *Jahrb. f. Philol.* Suppl. viii (1876), pp. 535 foll.; Köhler, *Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 396; B. Keil, *Hermes*, 29 (1894), pp. 45 foll., 31 (1896), pp. 472 foll. For other fragments see Köhler, *Hermes* (1888), pp. 396 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 42, 43.

The panic about the mutilation of the Hermai and the rumoured profanation of the mysteries took place B. C. 415 (Thuk. vi. 27 foll.). Many were arrested and imprisoned on suspicion, until Andokides turned 'King's evidence,' and gave what was then considered the true account (Thuk. vi. 60), naming himself and certain others as the perpetrators. He was himself rewarded with free pardon, but the others whom he named were put to death or outlawed, and their goods confiscated. Axiochos, Adeimantos, Euphiletos, Oionias, Panaitios, Polystratos, Kephisodoros were among this number (see Andok. *de Myst.*): and here is part of the account given

by the Poletai of the sale of their property (*δημιόπρατα*, Ar. *Wasps*, 659). In all sales of real property, by auction or otherwise, one per cent. was payable to the state by the buyer as an *ἐπώνιον* (*έκατοστή*; see Gilbert, *Gk. Const. Antiquities*, p. 351; cp. the Roman *centesima rerum venalium*). This percentage is also set down in the account.

*First Fragment* (Dittenberger, *Sylogæ*<sup>2</sup>, 41 and add. vol. ii. p. 809; Michel, *Recueil*, 564; the beginning is lost):

*Percentage.*      *Price.*

A. [ΔΓ]††† Χ††ΗΗΗ      Δρυνῶν κ[αί] π[ρ]ινῶν καὶ οἰκία ἐν - -  
καὶ πίθοι Γ||| ἐν τῇ οἰκίαι·  
[†]|||      ΗΔΔΔΓ†      Κυδίμαχο(s), Δόλων Ἀδειμάντου (two  
slaves of A.).

*Total*: Κεφάλαιον [σ]ύμπαν      [⊠]††Δ†††

5 B. [Τ]άδε ἐπράθη ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος ἐβδόμης πρυτανευούσης·

§ 1. [Γ]αμηλιῶνος ἐβδόμη ἰσταμένον· Ἀχσιόχου τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου  
Σκαμβωνίδου].

††      Η⊠ΔΔΔΔΓ      Ὀλας ἀνὴρ (a Thracian from a tribe  
near Apollonia).

§ 2. Ἐνάτη φθίνοντος Γαμηλιῶνος· Ἀχσιόχου τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου  
Σκαμβωνίδου].

†|||      ΗΔΔΔ      Μεσσῆνιος ἀνὴρ

10 § 3. Ἐκτὴ φθίνοντος Γαμηλιῶνος· [Ἀ]δειμάντου τοῦ Λευκολοφίδου  
Σκαμβ.]

†      ⊠      Ἐπικαρπία (i. e. crops) τῆς γῆς τῆς  
ἐν Ὀφρυνείῳ ἢ κεκόμισται?]

*Total*: Κεφάλαιον σύμπαν ΗΗΗ⊠ΔΔΓ††††|||.

ἢ κεκόμισται], i. e. 'already reaped,' is Dr. Wilhelm's very plausible suggestion.

C. Τῶμ περὶ ἀμφότερα (i. e. those accused of both the mutilation of the Hermai and the profanation of the Mysteries)

Γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος· | Εὐφιλήτου (τοῦ) Τιμοθέου  
Κυδαθη[ναιῶς]. |

15 †|||      ΗΓ      οἰκία ἐς Σημαχι[δῶν]  
†|||      ΗΓ      χωρίον ἐγ Γα[ρ]γητῶι

𐀓𐀓𐀓      𐀓𐀓𐀓      χωρίον ἐμ Μυ[ρρινούττη ?]  
 𐀓𐀓      Δ      χωρίον - - -

Total: Κεφάλαιον σύμπαν 𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓[ΔΔΔ]𐀓

20 Grand total: Κεφάλαιον ἀμφοτέρου (viz. the last two Totals)  
 𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓Δ𐀓.

Second Fragment (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 39; Michel, *Recueil*, 565; the beginning is lost):

A. - - - κα]ἰ εἰκο[στῆι τῆς πρυτανείας - -

§ 1. Ἀχσιόχου τοῦ [Ἀλκιβιάδου Σκαμβωνίδου].  
 [𐀓𐀓]      𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓      Κεφ[αλλῆν ἀνῆρ ?]

§ 2. Ἀδειμάντου [τοῦ Λευκολοφίδου Σκαμβωνίδου].

5 𐀓𐀓      𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓      Σάτ[υρος] (a slave ?)

Total: Κεφάλαιον - - - - -

Grand total: Κεφάλαιον σὺν[ἐπωνίοις] - - - - -

B. Τάδε ἐπράθη ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιο[χίδος - - - s πρυτανευούσης] | ὄγ[δ]όηι  
 καὶ εἰκοστῆι τῆς πρ[υτανείας].

10 § 1. Ἀχσιόχου τοῦ Ἀ[λκιβιάδου Σκαμβωνίδου].

𐀓𐀓      ΔΔ      ἔη ἐ[πικαρπία ? - -  
 ταῖς - -

§ 2. Οἰωνίου τοῦ Οἰωνο[χάρου] - - -

ἐκ τῆ[s - - - -]

𐀓𐀓      ΔΔ𐀓      φουσθ - - - - -

ἀμφ - - - -

§ 3. πέμπτηι καὶ (τρ)ε[ικοστῆι τῆς πρυτανείας - - -].

Third Fragment (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 40; Michel, *Recueil*, 566; the beginning is lost):

- - - καὶ εἰκοστῆι τῆς πρυτανείας].

§ 1. [Ἀδειμάν]του τοῦ Λε[υκ]ολοφίδου Σκα[μβωνίδου].

- -      - -      ἀνῆρ [Ἀρ]ιστόμαχος (a slave ?)  
 ἀγρὸς [ἐν] Θάσῳ ἐν - -  
 5 [𐀓𐀓𐀓]      𐀓𐀓𐀓      καὶ οἰκ[ία].

ἐπεστιν· [πίθ]οι ἐν [τῆι οἰκίαι]

ἔυγιῆς Δ[Δ· σ]αθροί - -

ἐπιθέμα[τα ἔχοντες]

[𐀓𐀓]      𐀓𐀓[Δ]ΔΔ - - οἶνον ἀμφο[ροῆς] - - -

𐀓[Η]ΔΔΔΔ τρ - - - -

§ 2. [Π]αναϊτίου		οἴνου ἀμφορ[ῆς - - - -]
- - - ΔΔ		καθαροῦ ΗΙΙΙΙ ἐ - - - -
[ΤΤ]	Η <sup>Α</sup> Δ	σμήνη ἐν τῶι [ἀγρῶι]
		τῶι ἐν Ἴσ - - - -
		βόε ἐρ[γάτα - - - -]
		βόε δὺ[ο - - - -]
- - - ΔΔ - -		β[όε(?) - - - -]

*Fourth Fragment* (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 38; Michel, *Recueil*, 567; the beginning is lost):

§ 1. [Ι]	ΔΓΤΤΤ	ἐπικα[ρ]πι[α].
		Θρία
[Ι]	ΔΔ	ἐπικαρπία
		Ἄθμονοῖ

5 *Total*: Κεφάλαιον σὺν ἐπων[οις]  
 ΧΧΧΧ<sup>Α</sup>ΗΗΔΔΤΤΤΙΙΙΙ

§ 2. Πολυστράτου τοῦ Διο - - -  
 Ἄγκυλῆθεν.

[Τ]ΤΙ	ΗΗΤΤ	Πίστος (a slave ?)
10 [ΙΙΙ]	ΔΔΔΔΤ[Τ]	ἐπικαρπία Ἄγ- κυλῆσι

*Total*: Κεφάλαιον σὺν ἐπων[οις]  
 ΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΤΤΤΙ (wrong:  
 should be 246 dr. 4 ob.)

§ 3.		Κηφισοδώρου μετοίκου ἐμ Πειρα[ιεῖ].
15 Τ[Τ]	Η <sup>Α</sup> ΔΓ	Θραῖττα
ΤΙΙ	ΗΔΔΔΓ	Θραῖττα
[Τ]Τ	Η <sup>Α</sup> ΔΔ	Θραῖχς
ΤΤΙ[Ι]	Η)ΗΔΔΔΔ	Σύρος
[Τ]ΙΙ	ΗΓ	Κάρ
20 ΤΤ	Η[ <sup>Α</sup> ]ΔΤ	Ἰλλυριός
ΤΤΙΙ	Η[Η]ΔΔ	Θραῖττα
ΤΙΙ	ΗΔΓ	Θραῖχς
ΤΙΙ	ΗΔΔΔΔΤΤΤ	Σκύθης
ΤΙΙ	ΗΔΔΤ	Ἰλλυριός
25 ΤΤ	Η <sup>Α</sup> ΤΤΤ	Κόλχος

	††	H <sup>Δ</sup> ΔΔ††††	Κὰρ παῖς
	†	Δ <sup>Δ</sup> Δ††	Καρικὸν παιδίον
	††††	HHH†	Σύρος
	[†]†	H[ <sup>Δ</sup> ]†	Μελιττ[ημός or -ή]
30	[†]†	[H] <sup>Δ</sup> ΔΔ	[Λ]υδῆ

We add here a fragment relating to the property of Alkibiades :

*Fifth Fragment* (Köhler, *Hermes*, xxiii. p. 396, n. 3; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 178, no. 277 d; Michel, *Recueil*, 568; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 44; the beginning and the percentage column are lost) :

	- - -	
	- -	κιβωτ[ὸς] δίθυ[ρος]
	- -	κιβωτὸς τετ[ράθυρος]
	- ΔΔ	κλῖναι Μιλησιουργεῖ[ς] Δ†
	Δ†† -	τράπεζαι
5	Δ††† -	χαμεύνα παράκολλος
	-	πα[ρ]α[πέ]τασμα [λι]οῦ[ν] (or [†απλ]οῦ[ν])
	-	κλίη[η Μιλη]σιουργῆς [ἀ]μφ[ικ]έφα[λος]
	- -	ἀλάβαστ[οι] ††
	- -	δίφροι †
10	- ††	[ἀ]νάκλισις
		καναῦστρο[ν]
	- -	- - -

That this last list is part of the inventory of the bedroom-furniture of Alkibiades, we know from Pollux (*Onom.* x. 36), who says that in the sale of his property there figured a χαμεύνη παράκολλος and a Milesian κλίη ἀμφικνέφαλλος (*sic*), such as are here described (lines 5 and 7).

### 73.

#### The Athenian Party in Klazomenai and Daphnus :

B. C. 411-408.

Στοιχηδόν. On a slab of Pentelic marble, found in the excavations on the N. side of the Akropolis; it once stood on the Akropolis itself. P. Kavvadias, *Ephem. Arch.* 1898, pp. 1 foll. and 135, Pl. i; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 912; cp. G. C. Richards, *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* xviii (1898), p. 329.

Ἐδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳι, . . . . . ἔ]-  
 πρυτάνευε, Κράτη[ς ἔ]γραμμ[ά]τευε, Ἐπιγέ[ν]-  
 ης ἐπεστάτει, Ἀλκιβιάδης εἰπ[ε]· τὰς ξυνθήκα]-



s ἄς ξυνέθεντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ [τοῖς οἰκίσασ]-  
 5 ι Δαφνοῦντα εἶναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ [τὰ ξυγκείμε]-  
 να, ἐπειδὴ ἄνδρες ἐγένον[τ]ο ἀγ[αθοί. καὶ ἀνα]-  
 γράψαι τὸν γραμμ[ατέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ]  
 λιθίνῃ ἔ[μ πόλει τὰς τε ξυυθῆκας καὶ τὸ ψή-  
 φισμα τόδε - - -]

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The name of the secretary is written over Ἐπιγένης erased, the lapidary having written the name of the epistates by mistake in the place of the secretary.

The Klazomenians revolted from Athens in B.C. 412 as a consequence of the Sicilian disaster, but were soon reduced, the leaders of the revolt departing to the neighbouring Daphnus (Thuk. viii. 23). Subsequently Astyochos attempted to seize Klazomenai, but was unsuccessful (Thuk. viii. 31). We are told by Thukydidēs that Astyochos ordered those Klazomenians who were friendly to Athens to leave Klazomenai and settle in Daphnus (ἀνοικίεσθαι ἐς τὸν Δαφνοῦντα).

From this it would follow that Daphnus was no longer hostile to Athens; in other words, that the leaders of the anti-Athenian party, who had fled to Daphnus, had either been expelled thence, or had come to terms with the Athenians. In any case, the ξυυθῆκαι mentioned in this decree were now entered into. On the return of Alkibiades to Athens (where he spent four months in 408 B.C.), this agreement, which had been entered into by the generals on their own responsibility, was confirmed by the people. Alkibiades, who had been sheltered by Klazomenai two years before when he escaped from Tissaphernes, was in a way repaying a debt by proposing the motion. This inscription must be compared with that relating to Selymbria (no. 77), in which Alkibiades plays a similar part. The present decree is inscribed in Ionic characters—a fresh instance of the use of this alphabet in Athens before the archonship of Eukleides. The actual agreement, which was inscribed on the lower part of the stone, is lost.

## 74 [56].

## Assassins of Phrynichos : B. C. 410-409.

Στοιχηδόν. C. I. A. i. 59; cp. Röhl, *Hermes*, xi. 378 foll.; Kirchhoff, *Monatsb. d. Berl. Ak.* 1861, pp. 601 foll.; Gilbert, *Beitr. z. inner. Gesch. Athens im Zeitalter des Pelop. Kriegs* (1877), pp. 346 seqq.; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 50; A. Wilhelm, *Arch-epigr. Mitth. aus Oest.* xvii (1894), pp. 37 foll.; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 24.

[Ἐπὶ Γλαυκί]ππου ἀ[ρ]χον[τ]ος.

[Λόβων ἐκ] Κηδῶν ἐγραμμάτευε.

- § 1. [Ἐδοχσεν τῆ] βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι. Ἱπποθωντὶ-  
 [ς ἐπρυτάνε]νε, Λόβων ἐγραμμάτευε, Φιλιστίδη-  
 5 [ς ἐπεστάτει], Γλαύκιππος ἦρχε. Ἐρασινίδης εἶπ-  
 [εῖ ἐπαινέσα]ι Θρασύβουλον ὡς ὄντα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸ-  
 [ν περὶ τὸν δῆ]μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πρόθυμον π-  
 [οιεῖν ὅ τι δύνα]ται ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἀντὶ ὧν εἶ πεπο-  
 [ίηκεν τὴν τε βουλήν] καὶ τὸν δῆ[μον] τὸν Ἀθηναίων-  
 10 [ν στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στε]φάνωι. ποιῆσα-  
 [ι δὲ τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ χιλίων δρ]αχμῶν ὅτι [δὲ ἔ-  
 Ἐλληνοταμίαι δόντων τὸ ἀργύρι]ον. καὶ [ἀνειπ-  
 εῖν Διουσιῶν τῶν ἐν ἄστει(?) τῶι] ἀγῶνι, ὧν ἔν-  
 [εκα αὐτὸν ὅ οὐ δήμος ἐστεφάνωσ]ε.
- § 2. *Rider moved by Diokles*:—Διοκλῆς εἶπε·  
 15 [τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆι βουλῆι·] εἶναι δὲ Θρασύ-  
 [βουλον Ἀθηναίου φυλῆς καὶ δήμου κα]ὶ φρατρίας, ὧ-  
 [ν ἂν βούληται ἀπογραφσάμενο]ν καὶ τἄλλα τὰ ἐ-  
 [φσηφισμένα τῶι δήμωι κύρια εἶ]ναι Θρασυβούλω-  
 [ι· εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐρέσθαι αὐτῶι π]αρά Ἀθηναίων κ-  
 20 [αὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν ἐάν του δέηται π]ερὶ ὧν εὐεργέ-  
 [τηκεν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων], καὶ ἀναγράψα-  
 [ι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὰ δεδογμ]ένα. ἔελεσθαι δ-  
 [ε - - ἄνδρας - - - - αὐτί]κα μάλα, ὅιτινε-  
 [ς] δὲ [κἀσουσιν Θρασυβούλωι μέ]ρος τὸ γινγόμεν-  
 25 ον. τοὺς [δὲ ἄλλους, ὅσοι τότε εἶ] ἐποίησαν τὸν δῆ-  
 μον τὸν Ἀθη[ναίων, . . . . .]ιν καὶ Ἀγόρατο-  
 ν καὶ Κώμωνα [καὶ . . . . .] καὶ Σῆμον κα-  
 ἰ Φιλίνον κα[ὶ . . . . .]α, εὐεργέ[τα]ς [ἀν]αγράψ-  
 σαι ἐμ πόλει ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὸν γραμ[μα]τέ-

- 30 α τ[ῆ]ς βουλῆς. [καὶ ἔγκτησι]ν εἶναι αὐτοῖς ὄμπερ  
 ᾿Αθηναίοις [καὶ γηπέδω]ν καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ οἰκησ-  
 ιν ᾿Αθήνησι, [καὶ ἐπιμέλ]εσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν βουλήν  
 τὴν αἰεὶ β[ουλεύουσαν κα]ὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις, ὅπως ἄ-  
 [ν μ]ὴ ἀδ[ικῶνται. τὴν δὲ σ]τήλην ἀπομισθώσαντων-  
 35 [ν ᾿οι πωληταὶ ἐν τῇ βου]λῇ, τοὺς δὲ ᾿Ελληνοταμ-  
 [ίας δοῦναι τὸ ἀργύριον.] ἔαν δὲ δοκῆι αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 [ἄλλου τυχεῖν ἀγαθοῦ, τῆμ] βουλήν προβουλεύσασαν  
 [ἔχσεινεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμ]ον.

- § 3. *Rider moved by Eudikos*:—Εὐδικὸς εἶπε· τὰ μὲν  
 [ἄλλα καθάπερ Διοκλῆς· περὶ] δὲ τῶ[ν] δωροδοκησ-  
 40 [άντων ἐπὶ τῷ φσηφίσματι] ὃ ἐφσηφ[ί]σθη ᾿Απολλ-  
 [οδώρωι, τῆμ βουλήν βουλεύσ]αι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ᾿έδ-  
 [ραι ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρί]ωι, καὶ κολάζειν τῶν [δ]ωρο-  
 [δοκησάντων καταφσ]ηφιζομένην, καὶ εἰς δι(κ)ασ-  
 [τήριον αὐτοὺς εἰσάγει]ν, καθότι ἂν δοκῆι αὐτῇ[ι]. τ-  
 45 [ῶν δὲ δικαστῶν τοὺς] παρόντας ἀποφαίνειν ᾿ἀ[ττ-  
 α ἐδικάσθη καὶ ἔαν] τίς τι ἄλλο εἰδῆι περὶ τ[ού]-  
 των. ἐχσεῖναι δὲ καὶ] ἰδιώτῃ, ἔαν τις βούλητα[ι].

The murder of Phrynichos, in 411 B.C., hastened the downfall of the Four Hundred. Thukydides (viii. 92) does not name the assassin, but calls his confederate, who was caught and tortured, ᾿Αργεῖος ἄνθρωπος: they both belonged to the foreign soldiery in the pay of the oligarchs. Lysias (xiii. *in Agorati*. 71 ff.) says: Φρυνίχῳ γὰρ . . . κοινῇ Θρασύβουλος τε ὁ Καλυδώνιος καὶ ᾿Απολλόδωρος ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐπεβούλευσαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπετυχέτην αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι, ὁ μὲν Θρασύβουλος τύπτει τὸν Φρύνιχον καὶ καταβάλλει πατάξας, ὁ δὲ ᾿Απολλόδωρος οὐχ ἤψατο, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ κραυγὴ γίνεται καὶ ἔχοντο φεύγοντες. He also cites the decree before us to prove that Agoratos had no share in the deed. Lykurgos (*contra Leocr.* § 112) speaks thus: Φρυνίχου γὰρ ἀποσφαγέντος νύκτωρ παρὰ τὴν κρήνην τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰσούοις ὑπὸ ᾿Απολλοδώρου καὶ Θρασυβούλου κ.τ.λ. Thukydides says it was done ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ, which is not to be understood as a note of time, but of place only, and so does not contradict νύκτωρ (Curtius, *Hist. Gr.*, Eng. trans., iii. p. 453). And Apollodoros may have been a citizen both of Megara and of Argos. This decree was passed in the spring of B.C. 409,

i. e. within the first few months of the restored democracy, in the eighth prytany of Hippothontis: see Böckh, *Staats-haush.*<sup>3</sup> ii. 17.

In § 1, which is the probouleuma, it is proposed to honour Thrasybulos with a crown and public proclamation. The mover, Erasinides, was one of the commanders at Arginusai, and was afterwards put to death (Xen. *Hell.* i. 5. 16; 6. 29; 7. 2).

§ 2 is proposed in the ἐκκλησία by Diokles, who is not likely to be the Diokles afterwards one of the Thirty (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 2). Thrasybulos is to have the citizenship and other honours; and a sort of judicial commission is to be appointed to determine the further reward due to him, in the shape of a portion of the confiscated property of Phrynichos. Other honours are decreed to the rest of the conspirators, of whom Agoratos is one.

§ 3. Eudikos proposes that the Council shall investigate the charges of bribery in regard to the reward which was voted to Apollodoros. Those who served on the case and are now at Athens will have to give evidence. We know that Apollodoros, besides being made a citizen (Lysias, xiii. *in Agorat.* 72), received a grant of land (Id. vii. *pro sacr. olea* 4). Lysias has been charged with blundering because he says that the gift of the citizenship to both Apollodoros and Thrasybulos was recorded ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στήλῃ. Probably the fact is that he was thinking not of the present psephisma, but of an earlier one, in which both Apollodoros and Thrasybulos were honoured. Apollodoros attained this honour by bribery and by representing himself as the assassin. Discovery followed, and hence the present decree and the rider of Eudikos. Lysias (xiii. *in Agorat.* 72) further accuses Agoratos and others of bribing the rhetor so that they might be mentioned in the stelè as euergetai. This rhetor must be Diokles (see Gilbert, *loc. cit.*). Lysias quotes a further psephisma to prove that he is right in his charge against Agoratos; evidently then the corruption was discovered, and another decree passed to cancel the honours conferred in accordance with § 2 on Diokles' friends.

## 75 [57].

**Neopolis in Thrace commended for fidelity to the  
Athenian cause: B. C. 410 and later.**

On seven fragments discovered on the Akropolis: *C. I. A.* iv (1), 51, pp. 16 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylogē*<sup>2</sup>, 49 and add. vol. ii. p. 809; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 23.

§ 1. *First Decree*, passed in the winter of B. C. 410, in honour of Νεοπολιτῶν τῶμ παρὰ Θάσον, a city to be identified with what the Quota-lists (nos. 33, 48) call N. ἐν Θράκη or παρ' Ἀντισάραν. It was on the coast just opposite Thasos, of which it was probably a colony. The important town of Cavalla stands on the ancient site.

[Θε]ο[λί].

N]εο[π]ολιτῶ[ν]

τῶμ παρὰ Θάσ[ον].

\*Ε]δοχσεν τῆι β[ο]υ[λ]ῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι. Λεωντὶς ἐπρυτά[νευεν],  
 5 Σιβυρτιάδ[ης ἐγρα]μμάτευεν, Χαιριμένης ἐπεστ[άτει, Γλ]-  
 αύκιππος ἤρχ[εν· . . . ]θεοσ εἶπεν· [ἐ]παιέσαι τοῖς Νεοπ[ολι]-  
 ταις τοῖς]  
 παρὰ Θάσον [πρῶτον μ]ὲν ὄ(ν)γι συνδιεπο[λέμησ]αν τὸν πόλεμον  
 μετὰ Ἀθηναίω[ν καὶ ὅτι πολιο-  
 ρ]κούμενοι [ὑπὸ Θασίων(?)] καὶ Πελο[ποννησίων οὐκ ἠθ[ύμη]-  
 σαν? - - -  
 . .]s τὴν α - - - - ον ἀνδ[ρες ἀγαθοὶ] ἐγένοντο  
 10 ἔς τε τὴν στ[ρατιάν καὶ τὸν δῆ]μον τ[ὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ] το[ὺς  
 συμμάχ]ο[υς - - -]

The Thasians revolted B. C. 412-411 (Thuk. viii. 64), and were reduced afterwards by Thrasybulos in the winter of 408 (Xen. *Hell.* i. 4. 9; cp. i. 1. 32). Neopolis, their colony upon the opposite shore, remained faithful throughout that interval, and suffered in consequence. This decree in their honour dates from B. C. 410 (winter). Line 7 has been chiselled out, and inscribed again by the same hand as the second decree (§ 4): the Neopolitans were not satisfied with the terms employed concerning them, and in § 4 we shall see that some time (perhaps a year or two) later they procured a change in the wording.

§ 2. The next few lines are too fragmentary to be reproduced; they decreed *honorary privileges* to the Neopolitans.

§ 3. *This decree to be set up at Athens and Neopolis.*

33 . . . καὶ τὸ φσηφισμα τόδε ἀναγράφσαντα τὸν γραμματέα]  
τῆς βουλῆς ἐ' στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καταθ[εῖναι ἐμ πόλει τέλεσι τοῖ]-  
35 s Νεοπολιτῶν· ἐν δὲ Νέαι πόλῃ αὐτοῖ [Νεοπολίται καταθ]-  
έντων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Παρθένου ἐ' στήλ[ῃ λιθίνῃ. καὶ καλέσαι]  
ἐπὶ χσένια τῆμ πρεσβείαν ἐς τὸ πρυτα[νεῖον ἐς αὔριον. δοῦναι δὲ (?)]  
Οἰνοβλίω Δεκελεεῖ στρατηγῷ ΤΤΤΓ<sup>Π</sup>Η[Η - -].

For the form πόλη (l. 35) see Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. att. Inschr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 137, and cp. nos. 93, l. 35; 103, l. 5.

§ 4. *Second Decree*, perhaps a year or so later than the preceding; but this is uncertain, as the heading is omitted.

Ἀχσίοχος εἶπε· ἐπαινέσαι τοῖς Νεοπολίταις τοῖς ἀπὸ [Θράκης,  
ἴοτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο]  
40 ἐς τε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τῆμ πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἴοτι ἐς  
Θάσον ἐστρατεύσαντο (?) συμπολιορ]-  
κήσοντες μετὰ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἴοτι χσυνναυμαχοῦντ[ες] καὶ [συμ-  
πολεμοῦντες διετέλεσαν τὸμ πά]-  
ντα χρόνον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἴοτι εὔ ποιοῦσιν Ἀθηναίους· καὶ ἀντὶ  
το]ύτων [τῶν εὐεργετημάτων ἴαπαντα παρ' Ἀ]-  
θηναίων εἶναι αὐτοῖς καθ' ἴαπερ ἐφσηφίσται Σ[ερμυλι]ε[ύσ]ι (?),  
ἴοπως ἄμ μ[ὴ] ἀδικῶνται μῆδὲ ἴυφ' ἴενὸς μῆτ]-  
ε ἴπὸ ἴδιώτου μῆτε ἴπὸ κοινου πόλεως· τοὺς τε σ[τρατηγού]ς ἴοι  
ἀν' ἐκάστοτε ἄ[ρχ]οντες τυγχάνωσιw ἐπιμέ]-  
45 λεσθαι αὐτῶν ἴο τι ἀν δέωνται, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχ[ον]τας τοὺς Ἀθηναίων  
ἴοι ἀν' ἐκ[ά]στοτε ἄρχωσι τῶν συμμάχ]-  
ων (?), τῆμ πόλιν Νεοπολίτας φυλάττοντα[s] καὶ προθύμους ὄντας  
ποιεῖν ἴο τι ἀν [δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. εἶναι δὲ]  
καὶ νῦν ἴευρίσκεσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ τ[οῦ] δ[ὴ]μου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἴο τι  
ἀν δοκῆι ἀγαθ[ὸν] ἄλλο ἴότου ἀν δέωνται. περὶ]  
δὲ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τῆι Παρθένωι, ἴήπερ κ]αὶ τέως ἐγίγνωτο τῆι [θε]ῶι,  
ἐν τῷ δήμωι[ - - - - - αὔ]-  
τούς. ἐς δὲ τὸ φσηφισμα τὸ πρό[τερον] ἐ]πανορθῶσαι τὸγ γραμ-  
ματέα τῆς βουλῆς [καὶ ἐκκολάφσαντα μεταγρ-  
50 ἀφ]σαι ἀντὶ 'τῆς ἀποικί[ας τῆς Θασί]ων' ἴοτι 'συνδιεπολέμησαν  
τὸμ πόλεμον μ[ετὰ Ἀθηναίων.' τοῖς δὲ πρέ-

σβεσι - - -]αι καὶ Γ[- - - - καὶ Δι]οφάντῳ ἐπαινέσαι ἄ τε νῦν  
λέγουσιν κ[αὶ - - - - -  
- - -] πρόθυμοί εἰσι ποιεῖν ἄ τι δύνανται ἀ[γαθόν - - - -  
- - καθ' ἄ]περ τὸ πρότερον. καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χ[σένια ἐς τὸ  
πρυτανεῖον].

The mover is Axiochos, the uncle of Alkibiades. He had been outlawed B.C. 414 (see p. 142), but he probably returned to Athens along with Alkibiades (p. 156). If we may trust Athenaios, pp. 534, 574, the two men had been together during their exile. I should imagine that this decree was passed soon after the reduction of Thasos, early in B.C. 407, in return for the assistance the Neopolitans had rendered Thrasybulos. They had sent envoys to ask (1) that certain expressions might be improved in the earlier decree. What their grievance in this respect was is not certain. If we read with Dittenberger τῆς ἀποικί[ας τῆς Ἀθηναίων], we must suppose that the mover of the original decree confounded Νεάπολις ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων with the city here concerned. Such ignorance of geography is not incredible in a statesman; but it seems more probable that the words τῆς ἀποικί[ας τῆς Θεσίων] had been used in order to emphasize by contrast their fidelity to Athens; and this restoration suits the space better than Dittenberger's. The Neopolitans now prayed that they might not be styled 'a colony of Thasos,' presumably, as Dr. Wilhelm suggests, out of hatred of that city, rather than from any notion that the title of colony implied political dependence on the mother-city. (2) They want to be allowed to pay the ἀπαρχή of the φόρος ( $\frac{1}{80}$ th, see no. 33) not to Athena, but to their own Virgin Goddess. Perhaps, like the Methonaians in no. 60, they had already been excused the payment of tribute, and only asked to pay the 60th: their request that the 60th may be paid to their own goddess seems another way of asking to be let off altogether. They are told to apply on this point to the ἐκκλησία (ἐν τῷ δήμῳ . . .).

§ 5. *Rider to second Decree, giving the reply of the Athenian δῆμος to the request about the ἀπαρχή.*

[Ὁ δεῖνα εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα

καθάπερ τῆι] βουλῆι· τῆι δὲ Παρθένωι ἔχσαιρε [- - -  
 - - - ὁ δῆμος εἴ[ϋ]χσεται.

The Athenians granted the request of the Neopolitans, which appears to have been grounded upon a vow made to their Παρθένος.

## 76.

## The Delian Amphiktyony : B. C. 410-409.

Στοιχηδόν. Found at Delos. Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* viii (1884), pp. 283 foll. ; V. de Schoeffer, *de Deli ins. rebus, Berliner Studien*, ix (1889), pp. 42 foll. ; Michel, *Recueil*, 570 ; cp. Cauer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* i. 1907.

Θεοί.

Τάδε ἔπραξαν Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύονες οἶδε·  
 Θεο . . . ος Νεο . . ο.,  
 5 Ἀψεφίων Ἀψιθύλλου,  
 Δημόκριτος [Φ]ανίου,  
 Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Τελεσίου.  
 Ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου Ἀθήνησι ἄρχοντος, ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπὶ Ἀπημά-  
 10 ντου ἄρχοντος. Ἀργύριον παρελάβομεν παρ' Ἀμφικτύονων Θεαγγέλου Φη[γαέ]ως καὶ σ-  
 νναρχόντων καὶ νεωκόρων  
 Δηλίων [Σ]κ[ύ]λ[ακ]ος καὶ συνα-  
 15 ρχόντων ἐν [τῶι ἱερ]ῶι καὶ τ-  
 ῶι Ἀρτεμισίῳ. Κεφάλαιον·  
 ΔΔΧΧΓΓΗΗΗΗ - -

The rest is mutilated.

This inscription establishes the title Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύονες, showing that the Athenians governed all the affairs of the Amphiktyony, although other states were represented. It also fixes the number of Amphiktyons at four. They appear to have held office for a year. The Delian Neokoroi represent the native interest in the management of the temple, which was allowed to survive the purification of 426 B. C. (Thuk. iii. 104) and the deportation of 422 (Thuk. v. 1 and p. 88). The funds were kept in the temples of Apollo (called τὸ ἱερόν—κατ' ἐξοχήν) and of Artemis.



## 77 [58].

## Selymbria recovered by Alkibiades : B. C. 409.

Not accurately στοιχηδόν. *C. I. A.* iv (1), 61 a, p. 18, cp. p. 126. The fragment *C. I. A.* i. 113 belongs to the same inscription. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 53; *Hermes*, xvi. p. 188; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 87, n. 93 (xxii); A. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte des Oesterr. Inst.* i. p. 158, n. 31 and *Beiblatt*, p. 44, and his addition quoted by Kavvadias, *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* 1898, p. 135; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 26.

The capture of Selymbria was a brilliant exploit according to Plutarch, *Alcib.* 30. Diod. xiii. 66 says: διὰ προδοσίας εἶλεν. Xenophon (*Hell.* i. 3. 10) simply has: Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὄρκοις (the convention with Pharnabazos) οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ Σηλυμβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δ' ἔλῶν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦκεν, κ.τ.λ. The present decree prescribes the conditions upon which Selymbria is restored to the Athenian alliance. The earlier lines are much broken; and the heading is lost.

5 § 1. *Selymbria to choose its own constitution*: [- καταστήσασθαι δὲ Σηλυμβ]ριανούς τῆμ πολι[[τελειαν αὐτονόμους τρόπωι ἴ]ότωι ἂν ἐπίστῶντ[[αι - - - -]

The reading of the first two words (due to Wilhelm) is obviously more suitable to the circumstances than εἶναι δὲ καταστήσασθαι, as usually read.

§ 2. *Remission of debts owing by Selymbrians*: [ἄ]σα δὲ ὄφ]ειλε τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ση[[λυμβριανῶν ἢ ιδιωτῶν τι]ς Σηλυμβ[ρ]ιανῶν τῶι | [κοινῶι, ἀφείσθαι].

10 § 3. *Sentences of confiscation, disfranchisement, and exile, cancelled*: [καὶ] εἴ του χρήματα ἐδεδήμε[[υτο ἢ εἴ τις τῶι δημοσίῳ] ὄφειλεν, ἢ εἴ τις ἠτίμωτ[[ο, ἔντιμον εἶναι. τοῖς δὲ] φεύγουσι Σηλυμβριανῶν | [κάθοδον εἶναι? - - - -]ος\* πολεμίους δὲ καὶ φίλους | [τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν?].

15 § 4. *Property of Athens or of the allies left at Selymbria, and lost or spent in the war, not to be required back again*: [ἄ]σ(α) δὲ ἀπόλετο ἐν τῶι πολέμῳ | [χρήματα Ἀθηναίων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων, ἢ εἴ τι ὀφείλ[[ουτος ἢ παρακ]αταθήκην ἔχοντός του ἔπραχσα[[ν οἱ ἄρχοντες,] μὴ εἶναι πρᾶχσιν πλῆγ γῆς καὶ οἰ[[κίας].

§ 5. *Private contracts not dissolved*: [ῥσα δ' ἄ]λλα χουμ-  
βό(λ)αια προτοῦ ἦν τοῖς ἰ[[ιδιώταις πρ]ὸς τοὺς ιδιώτα[s] ἢ ιδιώτηι πρὸς  
20 τὸ κ[οινὸν ἢ τῶι κοι]νῶι πρὸς ιδιώτη[ν] ἢ ἐάν τι ἄ[λ]λο γέγ[[νηται,  
δια]λύειμ π[ρ]ὸς ἀλλήλους· ὅτι δ' ἂν ἀμφισβη[[τῶσι, δίκας] εἶναι ἀπὸ  
χουμβόλων.

§ 6. *These provisions to be inscribed: oaths interchanged*:  
τὰς δὲ χουμθῆκ[[ας ἀναγράφ]σαντας ἐς στήλην θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸ[[ν τοῦ  
'Απολλωνο]ς (?). ὦ[μο]σαν Ἀθηναίων οἱ στρατηγοὶ | [καὶ οἱ τριήρ-  
25 ἀρχο]ι καὶ ἴοι ἴοπλῖται καὶ εἴ τι[[ς ἄλλο]ς Ἀθηναίων π[α]ρῆν, καὶ  
Σηλυμ[βρ]ιανοὶ π[[άντες].

§ 7. *Decree of Alkibiades, confirming the above agreement, and adding certain provisions*:

[Ἀλ]κιβ[ιάδης] εἶπε· καθ' ἃ χουμθέεντο Ση-  
[λυμβριαν]οὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, κατὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖν,  
[καὶ καταθ]εῖναι ἐμ [πόλ]ει ἀναγράφσαν(τ)ας τοὺς (σ)-  
30 [τρατη(γ)οὺς τὰς συνηθῆ]κ[ας μετὰ τοῦ γραμματέως τ-  
[ῆς] βουλή[ς] (*here something has been erased*) ἐν στήληι λιθί-  
[νυι τέλεσ]ι τοῖς αὐτῶν [κ]αὶ τὸ φσηφισμα τόδε.  
[Ἀπολλόδω]ρον δὲ τὸν Ἐμπέδου ἐπαινεῖσαι, καὶ ἀφεί-  
[ναι αὐτὸν τῆ]ς ὀμηρε(ί)ας, καὶ [ἐ]χσαλείφσαι τὰ ὀνόμα-  
35 [τα τῶν ὀμήρ]ων τῶν Σηλυμ[βρ]ιανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐγγυη-  
[τῶν εἶναι κ]ύριον τὸν γραμ[μα]τέα τῆς βουλῆς, [δ]π[ό]-  
[σοι εἰσὶ γεγ]ραμμένοι, ἐναντίον τῶμ πρυτάνε-  
[ων· - - - μ]αχον δὲ τὸν Σηλυμβ[ρ]ιανὸν ἀναγρ-  
[άφσαι ἐν τῆ]ι αὐτῆι στήληι πρόχσε[ρον] Ἀθηναίων·  
[εἶναι δὲ κα]ὶ Ἀπολλοδώρωι τῆμ προ[χσε]νίαν κα-  
40 [θάπερ τῶ]ι πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. τοὺς δὲ πρέσβ[εις καὶ] Ἀπολ-  
[λόδωρον κ]αλέσαι ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἐπ[ὶ χσέν]ια ἐ-  
[ς αὔριον].

Compare no. 40. Alkibiades arrived at Athens B.C. 408, on the day of the Plynteria, twenty-fifth of Thargelion (June), and stayed until the Eleusinia were over (Sept.); within this time this decree was passed. We follow the chronology of Curtius, *Hist. Gr.*, Eng. trans., iii. pp. 479 foll. Beloch (*Philologus*, 43, pp. 261 foll.) dates these events a year later. The person whose name is partially preserved in line 37 was probably instrumental in handing over Selymbria to Alkibiades.

## 78 [59].

## Revision of the Laws: B.C. 409-408.

Στοιχηδόν. C. I. A. i. 61 and iv (1), p. 18; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jur. gr.* ii. 1 (no. xxi); Michel, *Recueil*, 78; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 52; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 25; cp. Köhler, *Hermes*, ii. 27 foll.; A. Philippi, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 105 (1872), p. 577; *Der Areopag und die Epheten*, (1874), pp. 333 foll.; Bergk, *Philologus*, 32, p. 669; Wecklein, *Ber. d. Münch. Akad.* 1873, pp. 1 foll.; R. Schöll, *Comm. in hon. Momms.* p. 460; E. Drerup, *Ueber d. bei den att. Rednern eingelegten Urkunden*, Kap. ii (*Jahrb. f. class. Phil. Suppl.* 24, 1898, pp. 264 foll.); L. Ziehen, *Rh. Mus.* 1899, pp. 321 foll.

Διόγυ[η]τος Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτε[υε].

Διοκλήης ἦρχε.

- § 1. [Ἐ]δοχσεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμω[ι]. Ἄκα[μ]αντ[ι]ς ἐπρυτά-  
 ν[ευε], [Δι]ό[γ]-  
 νητος ἐγραμμάτευε, Εὐ(θύ)δικο[ς] ἐπεστ[ά]τει. [Χο]ε[νοφ]άνης  
 ε[ἶ]πε· [τ]ό[υ]  
 5 Δράκοντος νόμον τὸμ περὶ τοῦ φ[ό]νου ἀν[α]γρα[φ]σά[ν]τ[ων]  
 οἱ ἀ[ν]α[γ]ραφῆ-  
 ς τῶν νόμων παραλαβόντες παρὰ (τ)οῦ [βασιλέως μετὰ τοῦ  
 γραμμ]ατέω-  
 ς τῆς βουλῆς εἴ' στήληι λιθίνη καὶ κ[α]τ[α]θ[έ]ν[τ]ων πρόσθεν  
 τῆ[ς] στο-  
 ᾶς τῆς βασιλείας. οἱ δὲ πωληταὶ ἀ[π]ομ[ι]σθωσάντων κατὰ  
 τὸν νόμο-  
 ν. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνοταμίαι δόντων τὸ ἀ[ρ]γύριον.

§ 2. *Law of Drakon.*

- 10 Πρῶτος ἄχσων. (*Unpremeditated murder.*) καὶ ἐὰμ  
 [μ]ῆ ἢ κ[α]τ[α]π[ρο]νο[ί]α[ς] κ[α]τ[ε]ίνοι τις τινα, φεύγει. δι-  
 κάξειν δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰτ[ι]ῶ[ν] φό[νου] ἢ [ἐάν τις αἰτιᾶ-  
 ται ἕως βου]λ-  
 εύσαντα· τοὺς [δ]ὲ ἐφέτας διαγν[ῶ]ναι.

*Conditions of prosecution and reconciliation.* Of the next lines, though much mutilated, we give the restoration made by Köhler by help of Demosth. in *Macartatum*, p. 1069, 57, together with the restorations given in Dareste, *Inscr. Jur. gr.* of ll. 15, 16, and the later sections as follows:—[αἰδέσασθαι δ', ἐὰμ μὲν πατήρ] ἦι ἢ ἀδελφός[ς] ἢ ἑ[κ]σ[τ]ῆς, ἅπαντας, ἢ τὸν κ[α]λύοντα

15 κρατείν' ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὅσσοι τοῖσι ὄσσοις μὲν ἐχέτωσ' ἀνεφισιότῃτος κ[αὶ  
 ἀνεφισιού, ἐὰν ἅπαντες αἰδέσασθαι ἐθέλωσιν, τὸν (ῥ)δ[ρκ]ον  
 [ὀμόσαντας· ἐὰν δὲ τούτων μὴδ' εἰς ἧι, κτείνῃ δὲ ἄκω[ν], γ[ν]ῶσι  
 δ]ἐ[οῖ πεν]τήκοντα καὶ εἰς τοῖς ἐφέται ἄκοντα] | κτείναι, ἐσέσθ[ω]ν  
 δέ[κα] τοῖς φράτορες ἐὰν ἐθέλωσιν. τούτους δ]ἐ[οῖ πεν]τήκοντα καὶ  
 καὶ εἰς ἄρ[ισ]τίνδην αἰρεῖσθων]. In line 18, ἐσέσθων means  
 'allow to enter the country (ἐσίημι).'

20 *The law is to be retrospective.* [Καὶ τοῖς πρότερον κτείναντες ἐν τῷ ἰδὲ τῷ θεσμῷ ἐνεχέσθων]

*The murderer to be placed under an interdict* (cp. Demosth. *loc. cit.* 57 *ad init.*). [Προειπεῖν δὲ τῷ (κ)τείναντι ἐν ἀγορῇ (αἰ, ἐντ)ὸς ἀνεφισιότητος καὶ ἀνεφισιού· συνδιώκειν | δὲ [καὶ ἀνε]φισιούς καὶ ἀνεφισιών παῖδας καὶ γαμβρούς καὶ πενθερούς κ[αὶ] αἰ φ[ρά]τ[ο]ρ[ας]. Ἐντὸς ἀνεφισιού = of nearer kin than first cousin; ll. 24-26 are hopelessly mutilated.

*Conditions admitting of the killing of the murderer* (cp. Demosth. *in Aristocr.* 37 and 28 f.). [Ἐὰν δὲ τις τ[ὸ]ν ἀνδροφόνον κτείνῃ ἢ αἴτιος ἦι φόνου, ἀπεχόμενον ἀγορᾶς ἐφ[ο]ρ[ε]ῖσ[α]ς [καὶ ἄθλων καὶ ἱερῶν Ἀμφικτυονικῶν, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀθηναίων κτείναντα ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνεχέσθαι· διαγιγνώσκειν δὲ τοὺς ἐφ[ε]τά[s. | 30 τοὺς δὲ ἀνδροφόνους ἐχσεῖναι ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐν τῇ] ἡμε[ρ]ᾷ, λυμαίνεσθαι δὲ μή, μὴδ' ἀποιῶν, ἢ διπλοῦν ὀφείλειν ὅσο[ν] ἂν καταβλάψῃ - - -]

*Murder in justifiable self-defence.* [Ἐὰν δὲ τις ἄρξαντα 35 χεῖρ]ῶ[ν ἀδίκων κτείνῃ - - - ἐὰν] ἀέκων κ[τείν]ῃ, δικάζειν δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰτιῶν φόνου, διαγῶναι δ]ἐ[οῖς ἐφ[ε]τά[s].

*Murder of a slave.* [Καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα φόνου δίκας εἶναι δοῦλον κτείναντι ἢ ἐλεύθερον].

*Murder in self-defence* (cp. Demosth. *in Aristocr.* 60). [Ἐὰν δὲ τις φέροντα ἢ ἄγοντα βίαι ἀδίκως εὐθὺς ἀμυνόμενος κ(τ)[είν]ῃ, νηποιεῖ τεθνάναι.

The rest is hopeless, but contains the word μετ[α]πο[σ]ή[σ]ησι, which we know from Demosth. *in Aristocr.* 62 to have come from the last paragraph of the law.

One of the measures which followed the restoration of the

democracy, in the summer of B. C. 411, was a revision of the laws. This appears from Lysias (*in Nicom. init.*), who accuses Nikomachos, one of the ἀναγραφῆς of this decree (§ 1), of having been six years about the business (cp. Grote, ch. 66; and p. 121 *supra*). These ἀναγραφῆς were appointed, along with the συγγραφῆς (commissioners for revising the laws and submitting the proposals for their promulgation to council and people), to copy and publish the new laws. This revision was interrupted by the calamities which soon followed: but the work was revived upon the restoration under Thrasybulos, B. C. 403; see Andok. *De Myst.* 83,—'Ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ· Τεισαμενὸς εἶπε· πολιτεύεσθαι Ἀθηναίους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, νόμοις δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος, καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς, χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς, ὅσπερ ἐχρώμεθα ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ, κ.τ.λ. The mover of our decree, Xenophanes, was probably one of the συγγραφῆς of B. C. 411 (Thuk. viii. 67); it authorizes the γραμματεῖς of the βουλή to give them a true copy of Drakon's law, that it might be inscribed and set up in the usual place: cp. Harpokration, s. v. κύρβεις· ἀναγράψαντες δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τὰς κύρβεις, ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῆ βασιλείᾳ. The portion of Drakon's law before us begins in a way (καὶ . . .) that proves the actual beginning to be missing, probably because it had been superseded by later legislation. The missing paragraph must have dealt with premeditated murder. The law as given here is taken from the first 'axon,' not of Solon, but of Drakon (for Solon's first 'axon' contained among others the law prohibiting the exportation of all products of the soil except oil, and therefore probably its other laws also had a reference to commercial matters). The Drakonian law of homicide, however, was retained by Solon, and had come down through him (Plutarch, *Solon* 17). The βασιλεῖς who try cases of involuntary murder are either (1) the βασιλεῖς ἄρχοντες from time to time in office, or (2) the φυλοβασιλεῖς, or (3) both combined. The first theory is excluded for reasons of Greek; we may take our choice between the two others. These βασιλεῖς preside over the inquiry into the cause of the murder, and the decision (διαγνῶναι) is thereupon given by the fifty-one ephetai, a college perhaps instituted by Drakon (but see Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* ii<sup>2</sup>. p. 234, note 2). For the

procedure in cases of bloodshed generally see Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* (Eng. transl.), pp. 379 foll.

## 79.

## Lakedaimonian Allies at Aigospotamoi : B. C. 405.

Seven pedestals from the chamber at Delphoi which contained the Lakedaimonian dedication commemorating the victory of Aigospotamoi. Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xxi (1897), pp. 284 foll. Comp. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 263.

- (1) Κ[ιμμ]έριος | Πελασγού | Ἐφέσιος.
- (2) Αἰαντίδης | Παρθενίου | Μιλήσιος in front, and on top  
Αἰαντίδης | Παρθενίου | Μιλήσιος. | Τείσανδρος ἐποί[ησ]ε.
- (3) [Θ]εόπομπος | Λαπόμπου | Μάλιος. | Ἄλυπος ἐποίει.
- (4) Αὐτόνομος | Σαμίου | Ἐρετριεύς.
- (5) Ἀπολλόδωρος | Καλλίφωρος | Τροζάνιος.
- (6) [Κώμ]ων | . . . . νδα | [Μεγα]ρεύς.
- (7) - - - | - - ρ. | Κορίνθιος.

Pausanias (x. 9. 7-11) describes the group of bronze statues of ὅσοι συγκατειργάσαντο τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ τὰ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ἢ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχησάντων. The names which have survived are those of seven admirals of the allies, all of whom are named by Pausanias; but as he mentions two Korinthians (Aristophantos and Pythodotos), and does not give their father's names, it is impossible to identify the seventh. The two sculptors are also named by him. The statues were popularly known as the ναύαρχοι, and in later times were famous for their bluish-green patina—οἶον ἀτεχνῶς θαλαττίους τῇ χροῇ καὶ βυθίους ἐστῶτας (Plutarch, *de Pyth. orac.* 2; compare *Lysand.* 12). The best, if not all of them, were probably carried off to Constantinople.

## 80.

## The Return of the Democrats from Phyle : B. C. 404-403.

A stèle of Pentelic marble, inscribed on both sides; found on the Akropolis in 1884, and now in the National Museum. Στοιχηδόν. E. Ziebarth, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, xxiii (1898), pp. 27 foll.; H. von Prott, *ibid.* xxv (1900),

pp. 34 foll. The stone is broken on all sides save the top ; the first two lines on the front, and the names of the tribes (of which one, *Αιγίδος*, is preserved) on the back, were in larger letters than the rest.

(α)

[Λυσιάδης ἐγ]ραμμάτευε,

[Πυθόδωρ]ος ἦρχε·

[Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ . . . . . ἐπρυτάν]ευε, Λυσιάδης  
 ἐγραμμάτευε, Δημόφιλος ἐπ[εστάτει, Ἄρχιν]ος εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν  
 . . . . . οἱ μέτοικ(?)οι ὅσοι συνατῆλθον ἀπὸ  
 5 Φυλῆς ἢ τοῖς κατελ[θούσι τῶν πολιτ]ῶν(?) . . . . .  
 . . . . .] ἐψηφίσθαι Ἄθηναίους· εἶναι  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόν[οις πολιτεία]ν . . . . .  
 . . . . .], νόμοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς  
 χρ[ῆσθαι οἷς κα]ὶ περὶ Ἄθηναίων . . . . .  
 . . .] συνεμάχησαν δὲ τῆμ μάχην τῆμ Μουνιχίασιν, τὸν δ[ε] . . . . .  
 . . . | . . . . . ὅ]τε  
 αἱ διαλλαγαὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐποίουν τὰ προστατ[τόμενα] . . | . . . . .  
 . . . . . ἐ]γγύησιν  
 καθάπε[ρ Ἄ]θηναίους, τοὺς δὲ - - -

(β)

(Col. 1 is lost ; of Col. 4 but a few letters remain.)

Col. 2.

Col. 3.

Χαιρέδημος γεωρ(γός)	Βενδιφάνης σκαφη(φόρος ?)
Λεπτίν(η)ς μάγε(ιρος)	Ἐμπορίων γεωρ(γός)
Δημήτριος τέκ[τ(ων)]	Παίδικος ἀρτοπ(οιός, οἱ -ώλης)
Εὐφορίων ὄρεωκ(όμος)	Σωσίας γραφ(εύς)
5 Κηφισ[ό]δωρος οἰκο(δόμος)	Ψάμμης γεωρ(γός)
[Ἑ]γῆσιος κηπωρ(ός)	Ἐγερσις
[Ἐ]π[α]μείνων ὄνοκό[μος]	Ἄνα . . μης - - -
. . . ωπος ἐλαιογ(- -)	Εὐκολίων μισθω(τός ?)
Γ[λ]αυ[κ]ίας (?) γεωρ(γός)	Καλλίας ἀγαλμ(ατοποιός)
10 . . . ων (?) καρνο(- -)	
[Δι]ονύσιος γεωρ(γός)	Αἰγίδος
	Ἄθηνογ[τ]ων

In (α), ll. 5, 6, Ziebarth restores ἐψηφίσθαι Ἄθηναίους εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόν[οις αὐτῶν | καὶ φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂν βούλωνται], von Prott ἐψηφίσθαι Ἄθηναίους· εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόν[οις πολιτεία]ν καὶ φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂν

βούλωνται]. The latter restoration is doubtful Greek; and, in both cases, the formula as to choosing their tribes, &c., is inapplicable to the ἐκγόνοι; so far as it concerns the new citizens themselves, it seems to be covered by the formula in the next line.

Aischines (iii. *in Ctes.* 187 foll.) describes the honours which the Athenians paid τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγούσιν. On the motion of Archinos, one τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, they received between them a thousand drachmai to be spent in sacrifices and dedications, and each a laurel crown; the Council were to make strict inquiry as to who were the actual persons besieged in Phyle by the Lakedaimonians and the Thirty. Finally, he quotes the epigram in honour of the restorers of the democracy:

τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων  
 δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους  
 θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πρῶτοι πόλεως καταπαύειν  
 ἤρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

None of these matters is mentioned in the unfortunately scanty remains of this psephisma. Yet, as it relates to the return of the democrats ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, we must suppose that Aischines only quoted that part of the decree which concerned his argument. There must have been room on the lower part of the stelè for these further provisions on the one side and the names of the citizens honoured on the other; and the epigram, doubtless, also had its place. The part preserved deals with the conferring of an honour on certain persons who συνακατήλθον (with the Athenian democrats) from Phyle, or otherwise assisted their return. These persons' names, with their professions appended, are arranged *tributim* on the reverse of the stone. It is clear that the honour received is that of citizenship. In l. 5 we should expect ἐψηφίσθαι τῆι βουλῆι; the use of Ἀθηναίους instead of the Council (if indeed von Prott's interpretation of the passage is correct) points to the period immediately following the return of the democracy. It was in the year of Pythodoros that the διαλλαγῆ (l. 8), or arrangements for truce preceding the definite agreement between the two parties, were effected, and the democracy



was reckoned as having been restored ('Αθ. Πολ. 41), although the final settlement was delayed until the year of Xenainetos (B.C. 401-400). There seems no reason to suppose with Ziebarth that the rewards in question were similarly delayed, and to restore the archon's name as [Ξεναίνετ]ος. In ll. 7, 8 were recounted the services of the people who are honoured with the citizenship.

The quondam aliens (the strangeness of some of whose names is noticeable) are arranged under the tribes in which they have newly been enrolled. Some of the abbreviated professional names are hard to complete. Col. 2: *δνοκόμος* (on the analogy of *δρεωκόμος* and the like) is due to Dr. Wilhelm; Ziebarth's *δνοκόπος* is less probable. In the next line the suggestion *έλαιοπ(ώλης)* is said to be precluded, the Γ being certain. L. 10 probably *καρνο(πώλης)*. Col. 3: l. 1, the restoration *σκαφη(φόρος)* is doubtful, because the *σκαφηφορία* was a leiturgia to which metoikoi as a class were liable (see Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities*, Eng. trans., p. 181); the name could therefore hardly serve as a professional title for a single metoikos. L. 8, *μισθω(τός)* must mean a hired labourer.

The mover of the decree, Archinos, is favourably mentioned in the 'Αθ. Πολ. (40) for his statesmanlike conduct during the early years of the new democracy; and his opposition to Thrasybulos, his old comrade, in regard to the latter's illegal proposal to enfranchise all aliens who had come in with him from Peiraeus, is characteristic and famous ('Αθ. Πολ. 40; Aisch. iii. *in Ctes.* 195). To him was due also the official abandonment of the Attic alphabet.

PART IV  
FROM THE ARCHONSHIP OF EUKLEIDES  
TO CHAIRONEIA

B. C. 403-338.

81 [64].

**Honours to the Samian Demos for their fidelity :**

**B.C. 405-403.**

Στοιχηδόν. Found at Athens, three fragments, A in 1888, B and C in 1876. A : Lolling, *Δελτίον*, 1889, pp. 24 foll. ; Lipsius, *Leipziger Studien*, xiii (1891), pp. 411 foll. ; Köhler, *C. I. A.* iv (2), 1 b (p. 1) ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* <sup>2</sup>, 56 ; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 28. B and C : *C. I. A.* ii. 1 b (p. 393) ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* <sup>2</sup>, 57. The whole : Michel, *Recueil*, 80 ; P. Foucart, *Revue des Études anciennes*, i (1899), pp. 181 foll. Cp. Hartel, *Attisch. Staatsrecht*, pp. 207 foll. (*Wiener Sitzungsber.* 1879, xcii. pp. 116 foll.) ; Dittmar, *de Athen. more exteris coronis publ. ornandi* (*Leipziger Studien*, 1891, xiii), pp. 191 foll. ; Szanto, *Gr. Bürgerrecht* (1892), p. 95 ; Swoboda, *Symbolae Prag.* (1893), pp. 214 foll. ; Judeich, *Kleinasiat. Stud.* p. 26 (note 2).

After the battle of Aigospotamoi the Samian demos, which alone at this crisis stood by Athens (*Xen. Hell.* ii. 2. 6), expelled the oligarchs from their city and sent two embassies (see lines 7, 8 of the first decree) offering to join hands with Athens to continue the war. To this offer the first decree refers. In B.C. 404 Lysandros took Samos by siege, expelled the demos and established an oligarchy (*Xen. Hell.* ii. 3. 6). After the restoration of the democracy at Athens, further honours were voted to the faithful (and now exiled) Samian democracy, as recorded in the second and third decrees. But Samos remained in the power of Sparta until B.C. 394.

Above is a relief with the tutelary deities of the two states joining hands (Athena and Hera) ; see Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, no. 475 a ; Collignon, *Sculpt. gr.* ii. p. 117 ; E. Petersen, *Mitth. d. arch. Inst.*, *Röm. Abth.* 1889, p. 69.

A. Κηφισοφῶν Παιανιεὺς | ἔγραμμάτευε. | Σαμίους ὅσοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐγένοντο. ||

*First decree* (B.C. 405). § 1. *Compliments to the Samians.*  
 5 Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. Κεκροπίς ἐπρυτάνευε, Πολύμνις Ἐυώνυμει | ἔγραμμάτευε, Ἀλεξίας ἤρχε, Νικοφῶν Ἀθμονεὺς ἐπέστάτει. Γνώμη Κλεισόφου | καὶ συνπρυτάνεων ἐπαινέσαι τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Σαμίους τοῖς τε προτέροισι ἤκουσι καὶ τοῖς νῦν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις | Σαμίους ὅτι εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πρόθυμοι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύνανται ἀγαθόν, ||  
 10 καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δοκοῦσιν ὀρθῶς ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναίους καὶ Σαμίους·

§ 2. *Grant of general autonomy.* καὶ ἀντὶ ὧν εὖ πεποιήκασιν Ἀθηναίους καὶ νῦν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται καὶ | ἐσηγοῦνται ἀγαθὰ, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ Σαμίους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι, | πολιτενομένους ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται· καὶ ὅπως ταῦτα ἔσται ὡς ἐπιτηδεύσ[ε]τατα ἀμφοτέροις, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν,  
 15 ἐπειδὴν εἰρήνη γένηται, τότε περὶ || τῶν ἄλλων κοινῇ βουλευέσθαι. τοῖς δὲ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν | αὐτονόμους ὄντας, καὶ τἄλλα ποιεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας καθάπερ | ξύνκειται Ἀθηναίους καὶ Σαμίους· καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκκλημάτων ἃ ἀγ γίγνηται | πρὸς ἀλλήλους δίδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι τὰς δίκας κατὰ τὰς συμβολὰς τὰς οὔσας.

§ 3. *Provision for contingencies of peace and war.* [Ἐ]ὰν δὲ τι ἀναγκαῖον γίγνηται διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ πρότερον περὶ τῆς  
 20 πολι|[τ]είας ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν οἱ πρέσβεις, πρὸς τὰ παρόντα βουλευομένους ποιεῖν | [ἦ]ι ἂν δοκῆι βέλτιστον εἶναι· περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἕαγ γίγνηται, εἶναι κατὰ ταῦτα | [κ]αθάπερ Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῖς νῦν οἰκοῦσιν Σάμον· ἔαν δὲ πολεμῆν δέη, παρασκ|[ε]υάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὡς ἂν δύνωνται ἄριστα πράττοντας μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν. | [ἐ]ὰν δὲ πρεσβείαν ποι πέμπωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, συμπέμπειν καὶ τοὺς  
 25 ἐξάμου παρόντας || [ἐ]ὰν τινα βούλωνται καὶ συμβουλευεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ἔχωσιν ἀγαθόν.

§ 4. *Arrangement as to the ships now at Samos.* ταῖς δὲ τριήρεσι | [ταῖς] οὔσαις ἐς Σάμῳ χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς δοῦναι ἐπισκευασαμένοις καθότι ἂν αὐ|[τοῖς] δοκῆι· τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα τῶν τριη[ρ]άρχων, ὧν ἦσαν αὐταὶ αἱ νῆες, ἀπογράψαι | [τοὺς πρέσβ]εις τῶι γραμματεῖ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς· καὶ τούτων εἴ πού | [τι] ὑπάρχει ἀνα|γεγραμμένον ἐν τῶι δημοσίῳ ὡς παρελιηφῶτων τὰς τριήρεις, ||

30 [ἅπαντα ἐξαλειψάν]των οἱ νεωροὶ ἀπανταχόθεν, τὰ δὲ σκευή τῶι  
δημοσίῳ ἐσ[[πραξάντων ὡς τάχιστα κα]ἰ ἐπαναγκασάντων ἀπο-  
δοῦναι τοὺς ἔχοντας τούτων | [τι ἐντελεῖ].

§ 5. *Rider. Further privileges. Recording of the decree.*  
[Γνώμη Κλεισόφου καὶ σ]υνπρυτάνεων· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆι  
βουλῆι· | [τὸ δὲ νῦν εἶναι τῆι πολιτείᾳ τοῖς ἦ]κουσιν καθάπερ  
αὐτοὶ αἰτοῦνται, καὶ νεῖμαι | [αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα μάλα κληρωθέντας ἐς  
35 τ]ὰς φυλὰς δέκαχα· καὶ τὴν πορείαν παρα[[σκευάσαι τοῖς πρέσβεσι  
τοὺς στρατηγούς ὡ]ς τάχιστα· καὶ Εὐμάχῳ καὶ τοῖς | [ἄλλοις  
Σαμίοις πᾶσι τοῖς μετὰ Εὐμάχου ἦκουσι] ἐπαιέσαι ὡς οὖσιν ἀν-  
δράσιν | [ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τοὺς ἾΑθηναίους· καλέσαι δ' Εὐμ]αχον  
ἐ[πὶ δ]εῖπνον ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον | [ἐς αὔριον. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰ  
ἐψηφισμένα τ]ὸν γραμμ[ατέα τῆς] β[ουλ]ῆς μετὰ τῶν | [στρατηγῶν  
ἐ' στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ κατα]θεῖναι ἐς πόλι[ν, τοὺς δὲ ἾΕλλη]νοταμίαις ||  
40 [δοῦναι τὸ ἀργύριον. ἀναγράψαι δ' ἐν Σά]μῳ κατὰ ταῦτα τέ[λεσι  
τοῖς ἐκεῖ]νων. |

Kephisophon's name appears at the head of this inscription because he was secretary two years afterwards, when the third decree was passed, and when all three were inscribed. He also moved the second decree.

The definition ὅσοι Σαμίων κ.τ.λ. is intended to exclude Lakonizers from the benefits conferred by the decree; cp. § 3, τοῖς νῦν οἰκοῦσιν Σάμον.

§ 1. The formula γνώμη Κλεισόφου καὶ σινπρυτάνεων is unusual, but there are analogies from other magistracies (as γνώμη στρατηγῶν). Kleisophos seems to have belonged not to the Kekropid but to the Erechtheid tribe. It may be therefore that this motion was brought before the βουλή during the Erechtheid prytany, but that a new prytany (Kekropid) came in before the matter could be laid before the ekklesia. The motion however continued to stand in the name of the prytaneis under whom it was drawn up.

Τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτοῖς seems to be a euphemistic allusion to the murder of the aristocrats by which the Samian demos marked its loyalty to Athens immediately after the battle of Aigospotamoi (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 6).

§ 2. The συμβολαί now in existence (line 18) were made when Samos was an independent state; now, when the Sa-

mians have the Athenian citizenship, these *συμβολαί* are still to hold good. (Dittenberger.)

§ 3. The Athenians agree that the Samians shall receive the same terms as themselves in case of peace. This they endeavoured to effect, but in vain (Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon. Varia*, 22). Line 24, *ἐξάμου* for *ἐκ Σάμου*.

§ 4. Philokles and Konon, when they went to the Hellespont, left twenty ships at Samos (Diod. xiii. 104). The trierarch who received a ship was regarded as owing it to the state. When these twenty ships were handed over to the Samians, the trierarchs could no longer be held responsible for them. The Samians were to fit out the ships as they pleased, hence the old tackle, &c., were to be returned to the dockyards.

§ 5. As Eumachos is, by virtue of the decree, an Athenian citizen, he is invited *ἐπὶ δειπνον* and not, like foreigners, *ἐπὶ ξένια*. This decree was probably engraved at the time, destroyed by order of the Thirty, and then, as we have seen, re-engraved under Kephisophon.

*Second decree*, B.C. 403-402. § 1. [Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Πανδ]ιονὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Ἀγύρριος Κ[ολλυ]εὺς | [ἐγγραμμάτευε, Εὐκλείδης ἦρχε, Κα]λλίας Ὀαθεν ἐπεστάται· Κηφισοφῶν [εἶπεν· | ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς Σαμίους ὅτι εἰσὶν] (ἄ)νδρες ἀγαθοὶ περὶ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἅπ[αντα | κύρια εἶναι ἂ πρότερον ὁ δῆμος] ἐψηφίστατο ὁ Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Σ[αμίῳ] ||

For Agyrrhios cp. Dem. *in Timocr.* 134.

§ 2. *The Athenians to assist the Samians in their embassy*  
 45 *to Sparta.* [πέμψαι δὲ τοὺς Σαμίους, ὥσπερ αὐ]τοὶ κελεύουσιν, ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὄντινα [ἂν αὐ]τοὶ βούλωνται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ προ]σδέονται Ἀθηναίων συνπράττειν, προσελέσ[θαι | πρέσβεις· οὗτοι δὲ συνπρατ]όντων τοῖς Σαμίσις ὅ τι ἂν δύνωνται ἀγαθῶν καὶ | κοινῇ βουλευέσθων μετὰ] ἐκείνων· § 3. *Praise of Ephesos and Notion for harbouring the Samian exiles:* ἐπαινοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἐφεσίους καὶ Νοτ[ιᾶς | ὅτι προθύμως ἐδέξαντο] Σαμίῳν τοὺς ἕξω ὄντας. § 4. *Further compliments:* προσαγαγεῖν δὲ  
 50 τὴν πρεσβε[ίαν || τῶν Σαμίῳν ἐς τὸν δῆ]μον χρηματίσ(α)σθαι ἐ(ἀ)ν του δέωνται· καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ | [δειπνον τὴν πρεσβ]είαν τῶν

Σαμίων ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὔριον. § 5. *Kephisophon* (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 36) moves the adoption of the proposals contained in §§ 1 and 4 (second clause): Κηφισοφῶν | [εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κ] (α)θάπερ τῆι βουλῆι· ἐψηφίσθαι δὲ Ἀθηναίων τῶι δήμῳ κύρια | [εἶναι τὰ ἐψηφισμ]έν(α) πρότερον περὶ Σαμίων καθάπερ ἢ βουλῆ προβουλεύσασα | [ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσ]ήνεγκεν· κ(α)λέσαι δὲ 55 τὴν πρεσβείαν τῶν Σαμίων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον || [ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον] ἐς αὔριον. |

All the original proposals moved by Kephisophon were withdrawn (owing apparently to opposition in the course of the discussion, inspired by fear of offending Sparta).

*Third decree, in honour of Poses.* A small fragment, giving the ends of the last four lines, has recently been found by Dr. Wilhelm. § 1. [Ἐδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι] καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· Ἐρεχθίδης ἐπρυτάνευεν, Κηφισοφῶν Πα[ιαν]εὺ[ς] ἐγραμμάτευε, Εὐκλ[είδης] ἦρχε, Πύθων ἐκ Κηδῶν ἐπεστάτει, Εὐ- [- - - εἶπε· | ἐπαινέσαι Ποσῆν τὸν] Σάμιον ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐσ[τ]ιν περὶ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν | [εὖ πεπόηκε τὸν δῆμον, δ]οῦναι 60 αὐ[τῶι τὸν δῆμο]ν δωρεῖαν πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς || [ἐς κατασκευὴν στεφάνου, οἱ δὲ ταμί]αι δόντων τὸ ἀργύριον· προσαγαγεῖν δὲ αὐτὸ|[ν ἐς τὸν δῆμον καὶ εὐρέσθαι πα]ρὰ τοῦ δήμου ὅ τι ἀνδύνηται ἀγαθόν· τὸ δὲ βιβλίον | [τοῦ ψηφίσματος παραδοῦναι αὐτ]ῶι τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς αὐτίκα μάλα· | [καλέσαι δὲ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον Σαμίων τ]οὺς ἡκοντας ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὔριον. | § 2. *Riders to the above probouleuma:* [Ὁ δεῖνα εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά]περ τῆι βουλῆι, ἐπαινέσαι δὲ Ποσῆν τὸν || 65 [Σάμιον καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς; ἐπειδὴ ἄνδρες ἀ]γαθοὶ εἰσιν περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, | [καὶ κύρια εἶναι τὰ ἐψηφισμένα πρότε]ρον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀναγρα|[ψάτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψηφισμα ἐ]στῆλη]ι λιθίνῃ, οἱ δὲ ταμίαι παρασχόντων | [τὸ ἀργύριον ἐς τὴν στήλην, δοῦναι δὲ Πο]σῆι δωρεῖαν τὸν δῆμον χιλίας δραχμὰς | [ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἀπὸ δ]ὲ τῶν χιλίων δραχμῶν 70 στέφανον ποῆσα||[ι καὶ ἐπιγράψαι τούτῳ στεφανοῦν αὐ]τὸν τὸν δῆμον ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα καὶ | [εὐνοίας τῆς ἐς Ἀθηναίους· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ] καὶ Σαμίους ὅτι εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ [πε]ρὶ Ἀθηναίους· ἐὰν δέ του δέωνται παρὰ] τοῦ δήμου, προσάγειν αὐτοὺς τοὺς πρυτάνεις | [ἐς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν αἰεὶ μετὰ τὰ ἱερ]ά· προσαγαγεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς τοὺς Ποσοῦ | [τοὺς πρυτάνεις

ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐς τὴν πρώτ]ην ἔδραν' καλέσαι δὲ κα[ὶ ἐπὶ] ξένια ||  
 75.....] καὶ Σαμίων τοὺς  
 ἐπ[ιδημοῦντα]s.

## 82 [62].

Restoration of a monument destroyed by the Thirty :  
 probably B.C. 403.

Στοιχηδόν. Found on the Akropolis. The text from C. Curtius, *Hermes*, iv. 404; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 3; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>1</sup>, 49; Michel, *Recueil*, 81.

## Θεοί.

[Ἄμύντο]ρος, Εὐρυπύλου,  
 [Ἀργεί]ου, Λόκρου, Ἀλκίμου.  
 [Ἐδοξε]ν τῇ βουλῇ· Οἰνητῆς  
 5 [ἐπρυ]τάνευε, Δεξιθέος ἐγ-  
 [ραμ]μάτευε, Δημοκλῆς ἐπε-  
 [σ]τάτει, Μουπιπίδης εἶπε· Ἄ-  
 μύντορι καὶ Εὐρυπύλωι κ-  
 αὶ Ἀργείωι καὶ Λόκρωι κα-  
 10 ἰ [Ἀ]λκίμωι τοῖς Ἀπημάντου  
 παισί, ἐπειδὴ καθηρέθη  
 ἡ στήλη [ἐ]πὶ τῶν τριάκον[τ]-  
 α ἐν ἧ ἦ[ν] α]ῦτοῖς ἡ προξεν-  
 ία, ἀναγράψ[αι] τὴν στήλην  
 15 τὸν γραμμα[τέα τ]ῆς βουλῆς  
 τέλεσι τοῖς Εὐρυπύλου κα-  
 λέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια Εὐ-  
 ρύπυλον ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖο-  
 ν ἐς αὔριον.

Ἄμύντωρ Ἀπημάντου occurs in a fragmentary decree (*C. I. A.* ii. 4) containing a list of names of *Thasians* who had been exiled for their Athenian sympathies, and were received in Athens, being granted ἀτέλεια καθάπερ Μαντινεῦσιν. It is the decree alluded to by Demosth. xx. *Lept.* 59 (see Wilhelm in *Eranos Vindob.* pp. 241 foll.). The sons of Apemantos had probably been exiled from Thasos in the revolution of B.C. 411 (*Thuk.* viii. 64; *supra* no. 75; cp. also Lysandros'

treatment of Thasos, Nepos, *Lysand.* 2; Grote, ch. 65). Eurypylos, happening to be at Athens, discovers that this decree has been destroyed by the Thirty, and obtains permission to restore it.

## 83 [61].

## Delos freed from Athenian control: about B.C. 403.

Discovered in the French explorations, and published by Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* iii. p. 12; Müllensiefen, *de tit. Lacon. dial.* (1882), no. 37; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 91; *Imag.* (1898), p. 30; Cauer, 24; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 4415; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 60; Michel, *Recueil*, 180. Cp. de Schoeffer, *de Deli ins. rebus* (1889), p. 50 seq.

- - ν - - -  
 . . ν καὶ θ[ιῶ-  
 ν] καὶ ναῦῶ-  
 ν καὶ τῶν χ-  
 5 ρημάτων τ-  
 ῶν τῶ θιῶ.  
 Ἐβασίλευον  
 Ἄγισ, Πausanίας·  
 Ἐφοροὶ ἦσαν  
 10 Θυωνίδας  
 Ἀριστογενίδας  
 Ἀρχίστας  
 Σολόγας  
 Φειδίλας.  
 15 Ἐν Δήλῳ [ἦρχ-  
 εἰ]ν Λ - - - -

The first six lines are in the Lakonian dialect and alphabet, the rest is in Ionic and was presumably added by the Delians. But the lapidary in line 14 has spelled Φειδίλας, whereas Ε is not used for εἰ in his alphabet. The date is fixed within narrow limits. Agis appears to have died B.C. 402-401, or 398 at the latest (Niese in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encycl.* i. 819); and Delos was in Athenian hands until Aigospotamoi. The names of the ephors down to 404-403 B.C. are known (Xen.



*Hell.* ii. 3. 9, 10; 4. 36); and none of them recur here. Of the years from 403 to 398 the first seems most probable. This document can hardly be anything else than a decree of the Lakedaimonians instating the Delians in the full possession of their own temples and temple treasures. After the two kings, the five ephors are named. On the relations between Athens and Delos see nos. 50, 76, 104; von Schöffer's work quoted above; and Mr. Jebb's paper on Delos in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i. p. 7, and esp. pp. 23, 58.

## 84 [65].

The Korinthian War: alliance between Boiotia and  
Athens: B.C. 395-394.

Στοιχῆδόν. From the Akropolis. Köhler in *Hermes*, v. 1; *C. I. A.* ii. 6; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 61; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 95, n. 100 (xxiv).

[Θε]οί.

[Συμ]μαχία Βοιω[τῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὸ-  
ν ἀεὶ] χρόνον.

[Ἐάν τ]ις ἴη ἐπ[ὶ πολέμῳ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἦ  
5 κατὰ] γῆν ἢ κατ[ὰ θάλατταν, βοηθεῖν Βοιω-  
τ]οὺς [π]αντὶ σθ[ένει καθότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλ-  
ωσιν] Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν καὶ ἐά-  
ν τις ἴη ἐπ[ὶ πολέμῳ ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς ἢ κα-  
τὰ γῆν ἢ] κ[α]τὰ [θάλατταν, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναί-  
10 οὺς - - - κ.τ.λ.]

The lacunae are easily restored, as the formulae are well known. For the history see Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 3-16; Lysias, *pro Mantith.* § 13: πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὅτε τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ εἰς Ἀλιάρτον ἔδει βοηθεῖν, κ.τ.λ. (cp. Andok. iii. *de Pace* 25). The decree was proposed by Thrasybulos (see Grote, ch. 74; Holm, iii. ch. 3). Observe that the 'Boiotians' are spoken of throughout, for at this time Thebes was supreme in Boiotia: after the peace of Antalkidas the Boiotian towns were declared independent (Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 32 foll., cp. vi. 3. 11 foll.).

## 85 [67].

Korinthian War: alliance between Athens and  
the Lokrians: B.C. 395.

Στοιχηδόν. From the Akropolis. Köhler, *Hermes*, v. 2; *C. I. A.* ii. 7; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. no. 101 (xxv).

..... Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λοκρῶν . .  
 ..... ἐάν τις ἴη ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἢ κ-  
 ατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, βοηθεῖν Λοκροὺς παντὶ σθένει κ-  
 αθότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσι Ἀθηναίους κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. [καὶ ἐ-  
 5 ἂν τις ἴη ἐπὶ Λοκροὺς ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλ-  
 ατταν, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους παντὶ] σθένει καθότι ἂν ἐπαγγ-  
 ἐλλωσι Λοκροὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν]. ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἄλλο δοκῆι Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς συμβουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο κύριον εἶ-  
 ναι].

The Opuntian Lokrians are meant, who are termed Λοκροὶ without further qualification by Herodot. (vii. 132) and Thuk. (ii. 9). The Korinthian war arose out of a quarrel between Lokris and Phokis concerning χώρας ἀμφισβητησίμου (*Xen. Hell.* iii. 5. 3), the Lokrians being supported by Thebes, the Phokians by Sparta; the underlying cause being the Theban reaction against Lakedaimonian supremacy. See *Xen. Hell.* iv. 3. 15 and 2. 17. It is probable that the treaty before us was concluded before the battle of Haliartos, at the same time with the preceding. See Grote, ch. 74; Holm, iii. ch. 3.

## 86 [66].

Fragments of a Treaty between Athens and Eretria:  
B.C. 394.

Στοιχηδόν. Found at Athens: *C. I. A.* iv (2), p. 5, no. 7 b; cf. *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* 1877, p. 212; Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 1887, p. 144; Lolling, *Sitzgsber. d. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1887, p. 1186; Wilhelm, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* xv. p. 1, no. 1; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 3, 62; R. von Scala, *Staatsverträge*, i. p. 100, n. 106 (xxvi).

Ἐρετριέω[ν συμμαχία]  
 καὶ Ἀθηναίων.

Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ· Ἄκαμαντις ἐπρυτάνευ-

εν], Χελωνίων Θεοσ[υήτου . . . . . ἔγραμμ-  
 5 ατε]νευ, Εὐβουλίδη[s ἦρχεν . . . . .  
 ἔπεστ]άτει· Γναθίο[s εἶπε· συμμαχους εἶναι Ἐ-  
 ρετριᾶς καὶ Ἀ]θην[αίους - - - -]

(here probably followed the clause binding the two parties to aid each other in case of war)

[ - - - κατὰ] τὸ [δ]υνατό[ν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν δο-  
 κῆι ἄμεινον εἶναι τ]οῖν πολέοιν κοινῆ[ι βου-  
 10 λευομένοιιν, τοῦτ]ο κύριον ε[ἶ]ναι· [δ]μόσα[ι  
 δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν τ]οὺς στρατηγο[ὺς καὶ τῆ-  
 ν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἰ]ππέας, Ἐρετριέων δὲ τ[οῦ-  
 s στρατηγούς καὶ τ]ῆν βουλὴν καὶ το[ὺς ἰπ]πέ-  
 as καὶ τὰς ἄλλας] ἀρχάς· ὑπάρχειν δ[ὲ . . .].σ.  
 15 [. . . . .]ν· ὀμνύναι δὲ τ[ὸ]ν [ν]όμιμο-  
 ν ὄρκον ἐκατέρουs τὸν παρά σφισιν αὐτ[ο-  
 ῖs· ἐλέσθαι δὲ πρ]έσβεις αὐτίκα μάλλ[α] τῆ[ν β-  
 ουλὴν δέκα ἀνδρ]ας, πέντε μὲν ἐκ τῆs βο[υλ-  
 ῆs, πέντε δὲ ἐξ ἰδι]ωτῶν, οἵτινες ἀπο[λήψο-  
 20 νται τοὺς ὄρκους πα]ρὰ Ἐρετ[ρ]ιέω[ν, - - -]

Xenophon, in his catalogue of the forces on the side of Athens in the Korinthian war, says: καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἀπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων (*Hell.* iv. 2. 17). So Diod. xiv. 82: εὐθὺς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ τε Εὐβοία ἅπανα προσέθετο, κ.τ.λ. The present document appears from the heading (which has merely ἔδοξεν τῆ βουλῆ, without the addition καὶ τῶ δήμῳ) to be a probouleuma of the council adopted by the ekklesia, without any alteration in the heading.

## 87 [68].

### Battle of Korinth and Battle of Koroneia :

July, August, B.C. 394.

On a handsome funeral monument found in the Kerameikos: Kumanudes, Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι, no. 13; Köhler, *Monatsber. d. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1870, pp. 272 foll.; Rayet, *Bull. de l'Éc. franç. d' Ath.* i. p. 217; *C. I. A.* ii. 1673; Brückner, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xiv (1889), p. 407; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 68; Michel, *Recueil*, 599; comp. A. Martin, *Les Cavaliers Athén.* pp. 415 foll.; Köpp, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 25.

Οἷδε ἰππέης ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορίνθωι· | φύλαρχος Ἀντιφάνης. | Με-

λησίας, Ὀνητορίδης, Λυσίθεος, Πάνδιος, Νικόμαχος, | Θεάγγελος, Φάνης, Δημοκλῆς, Δεξίλεως, Ἐνδηλος. | Ἐν Κορωνεΐαι | Νεοκλείδης.

Pausanias says (i. 29. 11): κείνται δὲ (on the road from the Dipylon to the Akademy) καὶ οἱ περὶ Κόρινθον πεσόντες· ἐδήλωσε δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα (so he moralizes) ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐθις ἐν Λεύκτροις τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καλουμένους ἀνδρείους τὸ μηδὲν ἄνευ τύχης εἶναι κ.τ.λ. He is however probably not alluding to this monument, which was erected only to the troopers. Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 2. 17) says that the Athenian cavalry at Korinth numbered six hundred; he does not give the number at Koroneia (*ibid.* 3. 15). In both battles, especially in the latter, the hard fighting was between the foot-soldiers; the cavalry were scarcely engaged. See the next inscription.

## 88 [69].

## Battle of Korinth : B.C. 394.

A beautiful stelè, discovered in 1863, just outside the Dipylon. Above the inscription is a fine relief: a youthful horseman is striking his fallen foe with a spear. See the illustrations in Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, no. 438; Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon. of Anc. Athens*, p. 580, or E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 396. For the inscription: Kumanudes, Ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτύμβ. 540; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 2084; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 67. Cp. Sandys, *An Easter Vacation*, pp. 29, 30; A. Martin, *Les Cavaliers Athéniens* (1886), pp. 415 foll.; Brückner, *Jahrb. des Inst.* 1895, p. 204; Köpp, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 25.

Δεξίλεως Λυσανίου Θεορίκιος·  
 ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Τεισανδρου ἀρχοντος·  
 ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου  
 ἐν Κορίνθωι τῶν πέντε ἰππέων.

Among the thousands of Attic tombs we know of, this one alone bears a date. Dexileos, named also in the preceding monument, was born in B.C. 414-413, when Teisandros was archon (wrongly called Πείσανδρος by Diod. xiii. 7). As eleven horsemen fell at Korinth, the expression τῶν πέντε ἰππέων must be referred to some unrecorded episode of the expedition, probably to some feat performed by five troopers. The six others mentioned in the previous inscription may have fallen

in the same battle, and that monument need not therefore, as Köpp supposes, refer to at least three engagements. Brückner's attempt to explain τῶν πέντε ἰππέων as a military rank is not convincing. According to Lysias (xvi. *pro Mantitheo* 15), the tribe of Mantitheos suffered most in the battle of Korinth. Sandys conjectures with probability that Mantitheos was of the same family as the Mantitheos mentioned by Demosth. (xxxii. *contr. Boeot.* 7 foll.), whose deme, like that of Dexileos, was Thorikos. Dexileos and Lysias' client therefore fought side by side as members of the tribe Akamantis.

## 89 [70].

## Honours to Konon, at Erythrai in Ionia: BC. 394.

Inscribed *στοιχηδόν* on a stelè in a church at Erythrai: Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* pt. v. 39; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 199; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 65; Michel, *Recueil*, 500.

[Ἔδοξεν] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι  
 [δήμωι· Κ]όνωνα ἀναγράψαι  
 [εὐεργ]έτην Ἐρυθραίων  
 [καὶ π]ρόξενον, καὶ προε-  
 5 [δρι]ην αὐτῶι εἶναι ἐν Ἐρυ-  
 [θρ]ῆσι καὶ ἀτέλειαν  
 [π]άντων χρημάτων καὶ  
 [ἐ]σαγωγῆς καὶ ἐξαγωγῆς  
 [κ]αὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης·  
 10 [κα]ὶ Ἐρυθραίων εἶναι  
 [ἦν] βούληται· εἶναι δὲ  
 [ταῦ]τα καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκ-  
 [γόνοι]ς· πῆσαισθαι δὲ  
 [αὐτοῦ] ἐλκόνα χαλκῆν  
 15 [ἐ]πίχρυσον καὶ στήσαι  
 [ᾧ] ποῦ ἂν δόξῃ· Κόνωνι . . . .  
 - - - καὶ - - -

This exactly accords with Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 1-2: Pharnabazos and Konon, after the victory of Knidos, went on a cruise round the islands and the maritime cities, expelling the Lako-

nian harmosts, and assuring the cities that their citadels should not be garrisoned nor their liberty interfered with οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἡδοντό τε καὶ ἐπήνονυ κ.τ.λ. So Dioid. xiv. 84.

## 90.

## Fortification of Peiraiens: B.C. 394-393.

Two stones built into the wall of the fortress Eëtioneia. P. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xi (1887), pp. 130 foll.; Wachsmuth, *Ber. d. sächs. Akad.* 1887, p. 371, and *Stadt Athen.* ii. 1, p. iii, nos. 1, 2; Köhler, *C. I. A.* iv (2), p. 197, nos. 830 b, c; Michel, *Recueil*, 575, 576; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 63, 64.

## A.

Ἐπὶ Διοφάντου ἄρχον-  
το(ς), Σκιροφοριῶνος  
μηνός, εἰ[s] τὰ κατ' ἡ-  
μέραν ἔργα· ζεύγ-  
5 εσι τοὺς λίθους ἄγουσι  
μισθός : ΗΠΔ  
σιδηρίων μι-  
σθός : ΠΤΤ

## B.

Ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου ἄρχοντο[s]  
ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου ἀρξάμε-  
νον μέχρι τοῦ μετώπ-  
ου τῶν πυλῶν τῶν κατὰ  
5 τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ἐπὶ δεξ-  
ιά ἐξιώντι· ΠΗΗΠΔΔΔΔ. μι-  
σθω(τής)· Δημοσθένης Β-  
οιώτιο[s] ἐπὶ] τῇ προσα-  
γωγῇ[ι] τῶν λίθων

The fortification of Peiraiens (though doubtless not the rebuilding of the Long Walls) was begun, as the first inscription shows, in June or July B.C. 394, before Konon brought assistance and money to Athens. He did not return thither until the spring of 393, having defeated the Lakedaimonian fleet off Knidos in August of the preceding year.

B: 2. σημείου, the mark indicating the starting-point of the work. 3. μέτωπον, apparently the pillar between the two wings of the gates. 5. This sanctuary of Aphrodite (possibly the one dedicated by Themistokles) must be distinguished from Konon's subsequent foundation (see Frazer on *Pausanias*, i. 1. 3). The fact that the contract is undertaken by a Boiotian is in accordance with the evidence of Xenophon (*Hellen.* iv. 8. 10) and Diodoros (xiv. 85), who say that Boiotians took part in the work. For other inscriptions, some of which show that the work went on until the year of Philokles (B. C. 392-391), see *C. I. A.* ii. 830, and iv (2), 830 *d, e*.

## 91 [71].

Honours to Dionysios I and his court:  
very early in B. C. 393.

Στοιχηδόν. A stelè found in the Dionysiac theatre, broken at the bottom and right, surmounted by a relief; Athena, with her shield and serpent, gives her hand to a woman holding a sceptre or torch, who represents Sicily (Schöne, *Gr. Reliefs*, Pl. vii. 49). Köhler in *Hermes*, iii. 157; *C. I. A.* ii. 8 (and p. 396); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 66; Michel, *Recueil*, 82; comp. Köhler, *Mittheil. des Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i (1876), pp. 4 foll.; Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, iv. p. 204; Holm, *Gesch. Sic.* ii. p. vii.

Ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [Πανδιο]-  
νίδος ἕκτης πρυτανεύουσης,  
ἧι Πλάτων Νικοχάρους Φλυεὺ[s ἐγρα]-  
μμάτευε.

5 Ἐδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι· Κινησίας εἶπε· περὶ ὧν Ἄν]-  
δροσθένης λέγει, ἐπαιέσαι Δι[ο]ν[ύ]σιον τὸ-  
ν Σικελίας ἄρχ[ο]ν[τα] καὶ Λεπτίνην [τὸν ἀδελ-  
φὸ]ν τὸν Διον[ύ]σι[ου] καὶ Θεαρίδην τὸν ἀδελφὸ-  
ν τὸν Διονυσίου καὶ Πολύξενον τὸν κηδεστή-  
10 ν τὸν Διονυσίου - - ]

The proposer is Kinesias the dithyrambic poet, whose lean figure and profligate life made him the favourite butt of Aristophanes and the comedians: the 6th prytany would be about the time of the Lenaia (Gamelion), and the place where the stelè was set up was the Dionysiac theatre. Dionysios I. was

all along an ally, not very active, of Sparta (Grote, ch. 83; Xen. *Hellen.* v. i. 26, 28; vi. 2. 4, 33; vii. i. 20, 28). But after the victory of Knidos (midsummer 394), when Konon sailed with Pharnabazos to the Saronic Gulf early in 393 (see Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 8. 7 foll.), so fast were Athenian hopes expanding, that Konon caused an Athenian embassy to be dispatched to Dionysios at Syrakuse, with the view of detaching him from Sparta, and allying him with Athens (Grote, ch. 75 *init.*). Lysias the orator, and two others, were sent (Lysias, xix. *de bonis Ar.* 19 foll.). Perhaps they carried with them the ψήφισμα before us: it is moved by a poet, who would probably be known to Dionysios. The tyrant had recently defeated the Karthaginians, and could thus be called the 'ruler of Sicily.' The most that the Athenians effected by this embassy was the neutrality of the Syrakusan power (Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 202). For the later relations between Athens and Dionysios see nos. 108, 112.

## 92 [72].

## Honours to Euagoras king of Kypros: B. C. 393.

Στοιχηδόν. Fragment found near the Dionysiac theatre. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 10 b, p. 397.

- - Κόνω[ν - -  
 ἐπαιν]έσαι δὲ αὐ[τὸν καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι  
 στεφ]άνωι, ὃ δὲ κ[ῆρυξ ἀναγορευσάτω ἐν τῶι θε-  
 άτρω]ι ὄτ[α]ν ο[ἱ] τρα[γωιδῶι ὦσι ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἄ-  
 5 θη]ναίων Εὐαγόρ[αν στεφανοῖ ἀρετῆς ἐνεκε-  
 ν τ]ῆς ἐς Ἀθηναί[ους· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίου (?)  
 α]ὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ[γόνους - -]

The formulae are easily restored. Euagoras, who had received honours from Athens some twelve or fourteen years before (*C. I. A.* i. 64, to which Wilhelm attaches iv (1), p. 129, 116 w), materially helped Konon at the battle of Knidos, and was rewarded with honours upon Konon's arrival at Athens: Isokrates, *Evag.* 54-57; cp. Pausan. i. 3. 1; Lysias, xix. *de bonis Ar.* 20; Demosth. xii. *Phil. Ep.* 10.



## 93.

## Relations between Athens and Karpathos : about B. C. 393.

Στοιχηδόν. On a marble slab found in Karpathos. P. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xii (1888), p. 153, no. 1 ; Hiller von Gärtringen, *Inscr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* i. p. 161, no. 977 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 69.

[Ἔδοξεν τῇ βου]λῆι καὶ τῶι δῆ-  
 [μωι, Αἰγῆτις (or Οἰνητις) ἐπ]ρυτάνευε, Τει-  
 [σίας ἐγραμμά]τευε, Ἀθηνόδω-  
 [ρος ἐπεστάτ]ει· Κτησίας εἶπε·  
 5 [. . . τὸν Ἐτεο]καρπάθιον κα-  
 [λὶ τοὺς παῖδας κ]αὶ τὸ Ἐτεοκαρ-  
 [παθίων κοιν]ὸν γράψαι εὐερ-  
 [γέτας Ἀθηναί]ων, ὅτι ἔδοσα[ν  
 τῆν κυπάριτ]τον ἐπὶ τὸν νε[ώ-  
 10 ν τῆς Ἀθηναί]ας τῆς Ἀθηνῶν μ-  
 [εδεούσης, καὶ] ἔαν τὸ Ἐτεοκαρ-  
 [παθίων κοινὸ]ν [α]ὔτονόμους.

- - -

(the next few lines are badly mutilated.)

[ - - ὅσοι δὲ] νῦν καθειλήφα[σ]ι  
 [τῶν στρατιωτ]ῶν ἐξίέναι ἐ[κ  
 20 τῆς ἀκροπόλε]ως· ἔαν δέ τις [ἀ-  
 δικῆι ἢ . . . ἢ] Ἐτεοκαρπαθί-  
 [ων τὸ κοινὸν ἢ] ἀφαιρῆται ἢ ἀ-  
 [λῶι τὴν στή]λην [ἀφανί]ζων (?) [ό-  
 φείλειν πεντ]ήκοντα τάλαντα  
 25 [τῶι κοινῶι κ]αὶ τοῦπιδέκα[τ]ο-  
 [ν τῆς θεοῦ εἶνα]ι· δίκην δὲ εἶνα-  
 [ι πρὸς τοὺς θεσμο]θέτας ἐν Ἀ-  
 [θηναίοις. παρέχει]ν δὲ Ἐτεοκα-  
 [ρπαθίοις, ἔαν τ]ι δέωνται, Κω-  
 30 [ίους καὶ Κνι]δίους καὶ Ῥοδίους  
 [καὶ συμμαχ]ῶν οἵτινες ἂν δ[υ-  
 νατοὶ ᾧσιν] περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χ[ω-  
 ρία ἀγαθὸ]ν ὅ τι ἂν δύνωντα[ι.  
 γράψαι δὲ τ]αῦτα ἐν στήλῃι [λ-  
 35 ιθίνηι ἐμ π]όλῃι καὶ ἐγ Καρ]π-

ἀθωι ἐν τῶι] ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλ[ω-  
 νος οὐπερ] ἐτμήθη ἢ κυπάριτ[τ-  
 ος· Ἀγῆσα]ρχον δὲ τ . ν Λινδ[. .  
 . . . . .] τῆς ἐν Ἀθηναίο[ις  
 40 . . . . .]ναι τῆγ κυπάριτ[το-  
 ν].

A second decree follows, which is too much mutilated to pay repetition here, but contains the name [Ἀγ]ησάρχου. The same name is generally supplied in l. 5 (εἶπε[ν Ἀγῆσαρχον] Καρπάθιον) and l. 21; the safer readings here adopted are suggested by Wilhelm. The restoration of ll. 18 foll. is very uncertain.

The 'old temple' of Athena on the Akropolis was burnt down in B. C. 406-405 (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 6. 1). As late as B. C. 395-394 the Athenians were still engaged in restoring it. The next year saw the liberation of the south-eastern Aegean from Spartan domination by the victory of Knidos, and it was probably soon after this time that the people of Karpathos contributed a cypress-tree towards the rebuilding. In return the Athenians grant autonomy and various other privileges to Karpathos, and the newly found Athenian allies in these quarters are bound to show good offices to the same city. Of those mentioned, Kos joined Athens immediately after, Rhodes even before, the battle of Knidos; the Knidians in 391 and 390 were on the Lakedaimonian side, but just before that time had revolted. [Κνι]δίους is a more probable restoration than [Λιν]δίους, in spite of line 38, since although the city of Lindos at this time had a separate existence, it was not of any political significance. For the title of Athena in ll. 10, 11, compare the inscription on a boundary stone in Samos (Michel, *Recueil* 779): ὄρος τε|μένεος | Ἀθηνᾶς | Ἀθηνῶν | μεδεούσης.

## 94.

### Monetary Union between Mytilene and Phokaia : early in fourth century.

Στοιχηδόν. Found at Mitilini. Now lost. Conze, *Reise auf d. Insel Lesbos* (1865), pl. vi. 1; Newton, *Transactions of Royal Soc. of Lit.* viii (1866), 549 foll.; Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.* 213; Blass and Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xiii (1878), 382, 399 foll.; Clemm, *Rh. Mus.* xxxiii (1878), 608; R. Weil, *Studien auf d.*

*Gebiete des ant. Münzrechts* (1893), p. 14; Paton, *Inscr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* ii. 1; Wroth, *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Grk. Coins, Troas, &c.*, p. lxx; Hill, *Handbook of Grk. and Rom. Coins*, pp. 104, 105; Papageorgiu, *Uned. Inscr. von Myt.*, p. 16. Other references in Michel, *Recueil*, 8.

..... ε ..... [ὅτι  
 δέ κε αἰ] πόλις [ἀ]μφοτέραι] .....  
 ..... γράφωισι εἰς τὰν [στάλλαν] ἢ ἐκ-  
 ολάπτωισι, κύ[ρ]ιον ἔστω. τ[ὸν δὲ κέρναν-  
 5 τα τὸ] χρύσιον ὑπόδικον ἔ[μμεναι ἀμφο-  
 τέρ]αισι ταῖς πολίεσσι· δικ[ά]σταις δὲ  
 ἔμμεναι τῶι μὲν ἐμ Μυτιλήναι [κέρναν-  
 τι] ταῖς ἄρχαις παῖσαις ταῖς ἐμ Μ[υτιλ-  
 ῆ]ναι πλέας τ[ῶ]ν αἰμίσεων, ἐμ Φώκαι δ[ὲ τ]-  
 10 αἰς ἄρχαις παῖσαις ταῖς ἐμ Φώκαι πλ[έ]-  
 ας τῶν αἰμίσεων[ν]. τὰν δὲ δίκαν ἔμμεναι  
 ἐπεὶ κε ὠνίαντος ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἐξ μῆνε-  
 σ(σ)ι. αἰ δέ κε καταγ[ρῆ]θῃ τὸ χρύσιον κέρ-  
 ναν ὑδαρέστε[ρ]ο[ν] θέλων, θανάτωι ζαμι-  
 15 ὄσθω· αἰ δέ κε ἀπυφ[ύ]γηι [μ]ῆ θέλων ἀμβρ[ό]-  
 ττην, τιμάτω τ[ὸ] δικαστήριον ὅτι χρῆ α-  
 ὕτ(ο)ν πάθην ἢ κατθέ[μ]εναι, ἃ δὲ πόλις ἀναί-  
 τιος καὶ ἀζάμιος [ἔ]στω. ἔλαχον Μυτιλή-  
 ναιοί πρόσθε κόπτην. ἄρχει πρότανις ὁ  
 20 πεδὰ Κόλωνον, ἐ[μ Φ]ώκαι δὲ ὁ πεδὰ Ἀρίστ[τ]-  
 αρχον.

During the greater part of the fifth century, and down to about B. C. 350, one of the most important currencies of the west coast of Asia Minor consisted of electrum staters and sixths of staters issued by the cities of Phokaia in Ionia and Mytilene in Lesbos. In this inscription is recorded the agreement come to between the two cities with regard to the issue of the coins. None of the staters of Phokaia of this period has come down to us, and only one of Lesbos; nevertheless, we know from literary sources (Thuk. iv. 52; Demosth. xl. *in Boeot.* 36) that the Phokaian staters at least were an important currency; while an enormous variety of sixths of both mints has come down to us, and, as the coins are small and easily lost, must represent a very much larger original issue. As the style of the coins permits us to date the earliest sixths to

about 480 or at latest B. C. 450, the agreement recorded on the stone may be a renewal of an earlier convention. If, as is less likely, it is the first convention made between the two cities, we must suppose that it was entered into as conducive to more profit than the policy of competition hitherto adopted. The coins are very similar, those of Phokaia being distinguished by a small seal (φώκη) placed as a symbol subordinatē to the main type.

The present agreement regulates the responsibility of the official who makes the alloy (κέρναν) of gold and silver generally known as electrum, but here called χρύσιον, of which the coinage consisted. He is responsible to his own government, being punishable with death in case of wilful adulteration. The coinage was to be issued alternately by each city. We may assume that the missing part of the agreement provided for the equality of exchange between the coinages of the two states. Outside Phokaian and Lesbian territory the coinage would be subject to discount. Thus we find the poet Persinos telling Eubulos, tyrant of Atarneus, whose court he had left for Mytilene, that he got better exchange for his Φωκαίδες in Mytilene than in Atarneus (Pollux, *Onom.* ix. 93). We have, in fact, in this convention an analogy to the Latin Union of our own days. For the coins in question see *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Ionia*, Pl. iv, v, and *Troas, &c.*, Pl. xxxi-xxxiv.

## 95 [74].

Treaty between Amyntas III (father of Philip) and  
the Chalkidians: B. C. 389-383.

A marble found at Olynthos, and now at Vienna. It is broken at the bottom, and inscribed on both sides (A and B), not στοιχηδόν. Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* Pt. iii. no. 1406 (uncials only); H. Sauppe, *Inscr. Macedon. quattuor*, Weimar, 1847, p. 15; Swoboda, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* vii (1883), pp. 1-59; Michel, *Recueil*, 5; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 77; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 8; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 101, no. 107 (xxvii); O. Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* iii. p. 8, no. 13.

## A.

Συνθήκαι πρὸς Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἐρριδαίου.  
Συνθήκαι Ἀμύνται τῶι Ἐρριδαίῳ

καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι· συμμάχους εἶν  
 ἀλλήλοισι κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπου[s]  
 5 ἔτεα πεντήκοιτα.

§ 1. *The alliance to be defensive.*

[ἐ]άν τις ἐπ' Ἀμύν-  
 ταν ἴηι ἐς τ[ὴν] χώραν ἐπὶ π[ο]λέμῳ  
 [ἦ] ἐπὶ Χαλ[κιδέας, βοθηεῖν] Χαλκιδέ-  
 [ας] Ἀμ[ύνται] καὶ Ἀμύνταν Χαλκιδεῦσιν - - -]

B.

§ 2. *Regulation of export and import of shipbuilding materials.*

Ἐ[ξ]αγωγή δ' ἔστω καὶ πίσεως καὶ ξύλων  
 10 [ο]ἰκοδομιστηρίῳ πάντων, ναυπηγη-  
 [σ]ίμων δὲ πλὴν ἐλατίων, ὅ τι ἂμ μὴ τὸ  
 κοινὸν δέηται· τῶι δὲ κοινῶι καὶ τούτων  
 εἶν ἐξαγωγήν, εἰπόντας Ἀμύνται πρὶν ἐξ-  
 ἀγειν, τελέοντας τὰ τέλεα τὰ γεγραμμέν[α].  
 15 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξαγωγήν δὲ εἶν καὶ δια-  
 <α>γωγήν τελέουσιν τέλεα καὶ Χαλκιδεῦ-  
 σι ἐκ Μακεδονίης καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐκ  
 Χαλκιδέων.

§ 3. *All allies to be in common.*

πρὸς Ἀμφιπολίτας, Βοττι-  
 αῖους, Ἀκανθίους, Μενδαίους μὴ (π)[οιεῖ-  
 20 σθ]αί φιλίην Ἀμύνταμ μηδὲ Χαλκιδ[έας  
 χωρὶ](s) ἐκατέρους ἀλλὰ μετὰ μιᾶ[s] γνώ-  
 μης ἐὰν ἀ]μφοτέροις δοκῆι κοιν[ῆι  
 προσθέσθαι ἐκεί]νους.

§ 4. *Formula of oath.*

Ἄορκος συμμ[αχί-  
 25 ς] φυλάξω τὰ συγκείμενα Χαλκιδ[εῦ-  
 σι, καὶ ἐάν τις ἴηι ἐπ' Ἀμ]ύνταν [- - - -  
 - - - , βοθηήσω Ἀμ]ύν[ται] - - -

The restorations are chiefly from Sauppe. The dialect is on the whole Ionic (cp. no. 125). εἶν in A l. 3, B ll. 5 and 7, is for εἶναι (cp. no. 142, l. 5). The authorities for Amyntas' reign are

Diod. xiv. 89. 92; xv. 19. 60; Xen. *Hellen.* v. 2-3; Isokrates, iv. (*Paneg.*) 126; vi. (*Archid.*) 46. Grote gives a spirited account of the rise and fall of the Olynthian confederation (ch. 76), but for the chronology see Droysen, *Hellen.* i. 1. 78; Schäfer, *Demosthenes*, ii<sup>2</sup>. pp. 7 foll.; Swoboda, *loc. cit.*, and Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 223. The reign of Amyntas III (who is to be distinguished from the Amyntas, son of Archelaos, mentioned by Aristotle, *Pol.* viii. 10. 1311 b 14, who reigned from B. C. 392-390), was chequered with vicissitudes which show how far Makedon then was from being a secure or important power. His accession was in B. C. 389. It was probably early in his reign that he entered into alliance with the Olynthians, perhaps at the time when the Illyrian invasion, which in B. C. 383 drove him from his throne, was threatening. His object would be to obtain the help of Olynthos, and it was then presumably that he ceded to it the territory mentioned by Diodoros (xiv. 92. 3; xv. 19. 2). When he recovered his throne shortly afterwards he revenged himself on Olynthos, which had not only given him no help but probably actually annexed some of his territory (Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 12 foll.). He was helped by Sparta (Diod. xv. 19. 3; Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 38; 3. 9). His alliance with Athens belongs to a later period (no. 107). The article of the treaty about timber, &c. reminds us that Southern Makedon, the Chalkidic peninsula, and Amphipolis were the chief sources whence Athens (*e. g.*) derived the timber for her dockyards. Cp. the following passages: Xen. *Hellen.* v. 2. 16, ξύλα ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, i. e. within the territory of the league; Thuk. iv. 108; when Makedon became mistress of these regions the Athenians were at a loss for timber, see Diod. xx. 46; Plut. *Demetr.* 10; Böckh, *Staatsh.* i.<sup>3</sup> pp. 317, 488. This treaty appears to be chiefly to the commercial advantage of the league. Probably however Amyntas would want to import more timber, &c. from Chalkidike, than the league would from Makedon. Amyntas gains the right to import as much timber (except pine) as he wants, unless the league have present need of it. The league are permitted similarly to import from Makedon, and even pine-timber upon giving prior notice to Amyntas. And also, since the Olynthian league as long as it lasted was

a powerful check upon Makedon, by the possession of the chief ports and avenues of trade between Makedon and the rest of Greece, it was a gain to Amyntas to secure a safe export, import, and transport of all goods through the Chalkidic ports (ἐξαγωγὴν καὶ διαγωγὴν). Neither party is to enter alone on friendly relations with those neighbouring states which have not at the time joined the Olynthian league (B, line 18).

## 96 [76].

**Negotiations between Athens and Klazomenai, just before the peace of Antalkidas: B. C. 387.**

Στοιχῆδόν. Three fragments: A and B the first eight lines, C the rest. C. I. A. ii. 14 b (pp. 397, 423) and iv (2), p. 8; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 73; Michel, *Recueil*, 83; comp. Swoboda, *Mittheil. des Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, vii. (1882), pp. 174 foll.; Köhler, *ibid.* pp. 313 foll.; W. Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 94, note 1.

## A. Decree moved by Poliagros.

Θεόδωτος ἦρχε, Παράμυθος Φιλάγρου Ἐρχιεύς ἐγγ[αμμά]τε[υε.]  
Ἔδοξεν τῶι δῆ[μ]ωι. Θεόδωτος ἦρχε, Κεκροπίς ἐπρυτάνε-  
υε, Παράμυθος ἐ[γ]ραμμάτευε, Δαίφρων ἐπεστάτει. Πολί-  
αγρος εἶπεν.

§ 1. *Klazomenai to pay an eikostḗ, and to settle its own difference with the exiles on the mainland.*

Ἐπαι[ν]έσαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κλαζομενί-  
5 ων, ὅτι πρόθυμός ἐσ[τι]ν ἐς τῆμ πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων κα[ὶ]  
νῦν καὶ ἐν τῶι πρόσθε[ν] χρόνωι. Περὶ δὲ ὧλ λέγουσι, δε[δ]-  
όχθαι τῶι δῆμωι· [ὑ]ποτε[λ]οῦντας Κλαζομενίους τὴν ἐπὶ  
Θρασυβούλου εἰκοστὴν πε[ρὶ σ]πονδῶν καὶ ἀσπονδιῶν π-  
ρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ Χυτῶι καὶ τῶ[ν] ὀμήρων], οὓς ἔχουσι Κ[λαζομ]-  
10 ἐνιοι τῶν ἀπὸ Χυτοῦ, κύριο[ν] εἶναι τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κλαζ[ο]-  
μενίων, καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῶ[ι] δῆμωι τῶι Ἀθηναίωμ (μ)ῆτε τ]-  
οὺς φεύγοντας κατάγειν ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Κλαζομε-  
νίωμ μῆτε τῶμ μενόντων μηδ[ένα] ἐξαιρεῖν.

§ 2. *The question of garrisoning Klazomenai to be considered immediately.*

περὶ δὲ ἀρχ]-  
ουτος καὶ φρουρᾶς διαχειρο[του]ῆσαι τὸν δῆμον αὐτ[ὸ]-

15 κα μάλα, εἴτε χρὴ καθιστάναι εἰς Κλαζομενὰς εἴτε ἀν-  
τοκράτορα εἶναι περὶ τούτων [τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κλαζομε-  
νίων, εἰάν τε βούληται ὑποδέχεσθαι εἰάν τε μη.

§ 3. *Further provisions as to import of food, &c.*

τῶν δὲ πό-

λεω]ν, ὅθεν σιταγωγοῦνται Κλαζομ[ένιοι . . . . .

. . . . Σ]μύρης, εἶναι ἔνσπονδον αὐ[τοῖς ἐς τοὺς λιμένας

20 εἰσπλεῖ]ν, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς τοὺς [μετὰ . . . . . ἐπιμ-  
εληθῆναι ὄπω]ς ἔσονται σπονδαῖ] πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους Κλαζ-  
ομενίοις αἰ] ἀνταὶ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοις.

### B. *Vote of the Assembly.*

ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δ-

ῆμος αὐτοὺς τέ]λη οὐχ ὑποτελοῦ[ντας ἄλλα οὐδὲ φρουρὰν  
εἰσδεχομένους] οὐδὲ ἄρχοντα ὑ[ποδεχομένους ἐλευθέρου-

25 σ εἶναι καθὰ Ἀθηναῖοις. - - -

Shortly before the 'peace of Antalkidas,' in the year in which Thrasybulos was admiral (B. C. 390-389), the Athenians began to restore their empire by making alliances with various states such as Thasos (*C.I.A.* iv. 11 b, pp. 5, 6) and Klazomenai. The attempts were cut short by the peace, whereby the Asiatic Greek cities were summarily handed over to the Great King: Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενὰς καὶ Κύπρον (*Xen. Hellen.* v. 1. 31). Clinton, *ad ann.* 387, places the promulgation early in Theodotos' year, 'about autumn.' It was probably later in 387, if not in the beginning of 386 B. C. For the present inscription shows the state of war existing at least early in Theodotos' year, and the negotiations with Klazomenai are presumably anterior to Antalkidas' successes in the Hellespont (see no. 97).

A. § 1. The *εἰκοστή*, or tax of five per cent. on imports by sea, had been imposed by Athens instead of tribute in B. C. 413-412 (see *Thuk.* vii. 28. 4). Now when they attempt to revive their empire the Athenians resume this milder method of raising money.

The mention of οἱ ἀπὸ Χυτοῦ, ἐπὶ Χυτῶ, illustrates a passage from Ephoros cited by Steph. Byz. s. v. Χυτόν. χωρίον ἠπέιρον'



Ἐφορος ἐννεακαίδεκάτῳ· Οἱ δ' ἐκ Κλαζομενῶν κατῴκισαν τῆς ἠπείρου τὸ Χυτὸν καλούμενον. Cp. Arist. *Pol.* viii. (v.) ii. 12 (1303 b 9), Στασιάζουσι δὲ ἐνλίτε αἱ πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τόπους, ὅταν μὴ εὐφρῶς ἔχη ἢ χώρα πρὸς τὸ μίαν εἶναι πόλιν, οἷον ἐν Κλαζομεναῖς οἱ ἐπὶ Χύτρῳ (*lege* Χυτῶ) πρὸς τοὺς ἐν νήσῳ.

§ 2. The present assembly is to decide whether Klazomenai shall be arbitrarily placed under an Athenian garrison, or whether the choice in this matter is to be left to Klazomenai. See B. For the *διαχειροτονία* see Wilhelm, in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1900, pp. 526 foll.

§ 3. The treaty with Athens is not in any way (either by the *εἰκοστή* or otherwise) to interfere with the corn-supplies of Klazomenai. Ll. 20, 21: so Wilhelm. Dittenberger has τοὺς [ἀεὶ στρατηγούοντας φ|ροντίσαι ὅπω]ς κ.τ.λ.

B. The Assembly decides that Klazomenai is to pay no tribute other than the *εἰκοστή*, and is not to have an Athenian governor.

The restorations from line 18 onwards (due to Dittenberger) are highly conjectural, but seem to represent the general sense.

## 97 [75].

**Phanokritos of Parion rewarded for giving information  
of the enemy's fleet: B. C. 387-386.**

Στοιχηδόν. The stone is in the Louvre. Bockh, *C. I. G.* 84, cp. p. 897; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 38, iv (2). p. 13; Kirchhoff, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Ak., hist. phil. Kl.* 1861, pp. 599 foll.; A. Schäfer, *Philol.* xvii (1861), p. 160; Froehner, *Inscr. Gr. du Louvr.* 100; Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* 34 (1877), pp. 399-411; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 74; Michel, *Recueil*, 85.

*End of probouleuma (proposing pecuniary reward and εὐεργεσία to Phanokritos).*

. . . . . ας ἔνεκα [παραδοῦ]ναι, ἐὰν κα-  
[λ τῶ]ι δῆμ[ωι] δοκ[ῆι, καὶ] τῆν εὐεργ[εσί(αν)]  
ἀναγράφ[αι ἐν στ]ήλει λιθίνει ἐν [ἀ]κ-  
[ρ]οπόλει. κ[αλέ]σαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ζέ[ν]ι-

5 α εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.

*Decree of the people, moved by Kephalos by way of amendment: proxenia added.*

Κέφαλος εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ [τ]-  
 ἦι βουλευῖ· ἀναγράψαι δὲ Φανόκριτο[ν]  
 τὸν Παριανὸν πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργ[έ]-  
 τῆν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους ἐν στή[ε]-  
 10 ι λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει [ι  
 τ]ὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐπειδὴ π[α-  
 ρ]ήγγειλε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς περὶ [τῶν  
 ν]εῶν τοῦ παράπλου, καὶ εἰ οἱ στρατ[ηγο-  
 ῖ] ἐπίθουτο, ἐάλωσαν ἂν α[ῖ] τρ[ε]ῖς ἥρε[ι]ς  
 15 αἰ πολέμια· ἀντὶ τούτων εἶναι [κ]αὶ τ-  
 ῆν προξενίαν καὶ τὴν εὐεργεσί[αν· κ]-  
 αὶ καλέσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τ[ὸ π]-  
 ρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον, με(ρ)ίσαι δὲ τ-  
 ὸ ἀργύριον τὸ εἰρημένον τοὺς ἀποδέ-  
 20 κτας ἐκ τῶν καταβαλλομένων χρημά-  
 [τ]ῶν ἐπειδὴν τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων μερ[ίσω-  
 σι].

Böckh was inclined to refer this inscription to the time of the battle of Naxos, B. C. 376; but Kirchhoff observes that the writing is not later than B. C. 390-380. Phanokritos had given certain information to the Athenian generals which, if acted on, might have led to the capture of the enemy's ships. There is some probability in Foucart's view that the information related to Antalkidas' cunning evasion of Iphikrates, who was blockading Nikolochos in Abydos. Antalkidas went by land to Abydos and slipped out by night, spreading a false report that he was proceeding to Kalchedon. This would fix the event, and probably also the decree, to B. C. 387-386. Whatever the circumstances are, the council frame a *probouleuma* proposing the payment of a reward and the conferring of honours on Phanokritos as εὐεργέτης. In the ἐκκλησία an amendment is moved by Kephalos (the famous orator?), censuring the admirals for not acting upon the intelligence received. The *apodektai*, or 'Receivers general,' are to pay the sum as soon as funds become available, the regular disbursements provided for by the law having been first made.

For the sense of τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα, see Panske, *de Magistratibus Att. qui saec. a. Chr. IV. pecun. publ. curabant* (Leipziger Studien, 1890), p. 51. An inscription from the Akropolis (*C. I. A. ii. 1165*) reads: ὁ δῆμος | Φανόκριτον Φανοκλέους | Π[αριανὸν? ἀρε]τῆ[s] ἔνεκεν, and may refer to our Phanokritos. Lines 3, 7, 10: the stone has λιθίνει, βουλεῖ. Η| is frequently represented by Ε| in inscriptions from about 380 onwards to about 30 B. C., owing to the resemblance in pronunciation between the two diphthongs. See Meisterhans, *Grammatik d. attischen Inschr.*<sup>3</sup> pp. 38, 39. The present instance is one of the earliest extant.

## 98 [80].

## Treaty with Chios: B. C. 386.

Στοιχῆδόν. Put together out of various fragments. *C. I. A. iv (2)*, p. 9, no. 15 c, combined with *C. I. A. ii. 15*; Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth. ii.* pp. 138 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylogae*<sup>2</sup>, 75; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* p. 115, no. 122 (xxx). Comp. W. Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 265, note 1.

(The beginning is lost).

. ο - - - -  
ταῦτα με[. . . . .] κο]  
ινῶν λόγων [. . . . .]ων τοῖς Ἑλλ-  
ησιν μέμνην[ται διαφυλάξει]ν καθάπερ  
5 Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν φιλίας  
καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ [τὰς οὔσας συνθήκας]  
ὡς ὤμοσεν βασιλεὺ[s] κα[ὶ] Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες],  
καὶ ἤκουσιν ἀγαθὰ ἐπαγ[γ]ελλόμενοι[ τῶ]-  
10 ι δῆμωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων κα(ι) ἀπάσῃ τῇ [Ε]-  
λλάδι καὶ βασιλεῖ, [ἐψηφί]σθαι τῶ[ι] δῆμ-  
ωι ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τ[ὸν] δῆμον τὸν τ[ῶν] Χί-  
ων καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις [τοὺς ἤκουτ]ας, ὑπάρχ-  
ε[ιν] δ]ὲ τὴν εἰρήνην κα[ὶ] τοῖς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς  
15 σ[υνθήκα]ς [τ]ὰς νῦ[ν] οὔ[σας], συμμάχους δὲ ποι-  
εῖσθαι [Χί]ους ἐπ' ἔλευ[θε]ρίαι καὶ αὐτον-  
ομί[α]ι μὴ παραβαίνου[ν]τας τῶν (ἐ)ν ταῖς σ-  
τήλαις γεγραμμένων [πε]ρὶ τῆς εἰρήνης

μηδέν, μηδ' εἴαν τις ἄλλ[ο]ς παραβαίνοιη π-  
 20 ειθομένους κατὰ τὸ δυ[να]τόν· στήσαι δὲ σ-  
 τήλην ἐν ἀκροπόλει [πρό]σθεν τοῦ ἀγάλμ-  
 ατος, ἐς δὲ ταύτην ἀνα[γρ]άφειν, εἴαν τις ἴ-  
 ηι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, βοηθεῖν] Χίους παντὶ σθέ-  
 [νει] κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, [καὶ ἐ]άν τις ἴη [ἐπ-  
 25 ἰ Χί]ους, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίου[ς] παντὶ σθέ[νει]  
 κατὰ τ]ὸ δυνατόν· ὁμόσα[ι δ]ὲ τοῖς [ἤκουσι-  
 ν Χίους] μὲν τῆμ βουλῆν κ[αὶ] τοὺς [στρατηγ-  
 οὺς καὶ τα]ξιάρχους, ἐγ Χί[ω]ι δὲ [τῆμ βουλῆν  
 καὶ τὰς ἄλλ]ας ἀρχάς· ἐ[λέσθαι δὲ πέντε  
 30 ἄνδρας, οἵτι]νες πλεῖ[σαντες ἐς Χίον  
 ὀρκώσουσι τῆμ] πόλιν. [ὑπάρχειν δὲ τὴν συμ-  
 μαχίαν ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα] χρόνον. καλέ-  
 σαι δὲ τῆμ πρεσβεία]ν τῶν Χί[ων] ἐπὶ ξέ-  
 νια ἐς τὸ πρυτανε]ῖον ἐς αὐρί[ον]. οἶδε ἦι-  
 35 ρέθησαν πρ]έσβεις· Κέφαλο[s Κολλ-  
 υτεύς, - - - Ἀ]λωπεκῆθεν, Αἴσιμο[s . .]  
 - - , - - s Φρεάρριος, Δημοκλε[ίδης]  
 - - - οἷδ]ε ἐπρέσβενον Χίων· Βρύων, Ἀπε[.]  
 - - , - - κ]ριτος, Ἀρχέλας.

The insistence on the Peace with the Great King shown in this inscription proves that it was quite recent, and that the Athenians were anxious not to rouse the suspicions of Persia or Sparta by their new alliance. Nevertheless we have here the first step towards the new Athenian confederation. The Chians were among the first to join it. See nos. 100, 102: and cp. Isokr. xiv. *Plataic*. 28; viii. *de pace* 16: φημι δ' οὖν χρῆναι ποιῆσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ μόνον πρὸς Χίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς συνθήκαις μὴ ταύταις αἷς νῦν τινὲς γεγράφασι, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γενομέναις μὲν πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, προστατούσαις δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους εἶναι κ.τ.λ. (written B. C. 356). Ll. 22, 23: the ἀγαλμα of Athena Promachos. On the second Athenian confederation (no. 101) in relation to the alliances preceding it, see Lipsius in *Berichte d. sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1898, pp. 145 foll.

## 99 [106].

## Alliance between Athens and Olynthos: B.C. 383.

On a fragment found on the Akropolis; only the top and right margins are preserved. Pittakis, *Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 3737; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 105; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 121, and Add. to vol. i. p. 642; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. no. 200; cp. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* ii. p. 500, note 2; von Hartel, *Comm. Momms.* p. 533; G. F. Hill, *Class. Rev.* 1900, p. 279. Στοιχηδόν from l. 9 onwards.

[Ἐπὶ Διειτρέφους ἀρχ]ον[τος.  
 Συμμαχία Χαλ[κιδ]έων τῶ[ν ἐ-  
 πὶ Θράκης τοῖς] ἐ[σ]περίοις.  
 [- - - -], Ν[ικ]όστρατος Θορ[ίκιος] *vel* -αιεύς,  
 5 - - - -], Φαί[ν]ιππος Ἀζηνι[εύς],  
 - - - -], Θρασυκλῆς Παλλην[εύς],  
 - - - -], Ἐρ[μ]ιππος Πόριος,  
 [- - - -], Ἀθηνίων Ἀ[ρ]α[φ]ήνιος.  
 [- - - ἰς ἐπρυτάν]ευε· [Κ]αλλιάδης ἐγ[ρα-  
 10 μμάτευε· - - - Εὐωνυμεὺς ἐπεστάτει· [. .  
 - - - εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν ἀπ]ολάβωσ[ι] τ[οὺ]-  
 ς ὄρκους κ.τ.λ.]

If the date here assigned to this much mutilated inscription is correct (for the grounds see *Class. Rev. loc. cit.*), we have in it a record of the treaty between Athens and Olynthos, for which we know that negotiations were being carried on in the spring of 383. At that time Olynthos was extending the bounds of her confederacy and endeavouring to force all her neighbours to throw in their lot with hers. The more reluctant of them, Akanthos and Apollonia, sent envoys to Sparta, insisting on the necessity of immediate action to put a stop to these encroachments. The crisis concerned Sparta intimately, for, as the Akanthian envoy Kleigenes said, κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἤδη αὐτόθι. ἠκούομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἶη συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας (*Xen. Hellen.* v. 2. 15). We have here then the list of ten commissioners (five of the names only are preserved) despatched from Athens to receive the oaths of the new allies. But the alliance with Athens did not save Olynthos from the disaster which

followed, when Sparta, after despatching four generals in succession against the confederation, extinguished it in B. C. 379.

## 100 [78].

The New Athenian Confederacy: Byzantion  
received: B. C. 378.

Στοιχηδόν. Two fragments, published by Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 19; *Hermes*, v. p. 10; Dittenberger, *Sylogé*<sup>2</sup>, 79; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 127, no. 137 (xxxii).

- (α) - - - Ἀθην-  
α]ίω\* καὶ [νῦν καὶ ἐν τῶι πρό]-  
σθεν χρόν[ωι ὄντες διατελ]-  
οῦσιν, ἐψηφ[ίσθαι τῶι δῆμωι]  
5 εἶναι Βυζ[αντίους Ἀθηναίων]  
συμμάχους κ[αὶ τῶν ἄλλων συ]-  
μμάχων· τῆν [δὲ συμμαχίαν εἶ]-  
ναι αὐτ[οῖς καθάπερ Χίοις.  
δ]μόσα[μι δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆν βουλῆ-  
10 ν] καὶ [τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς  
s ἱπ[πάρχους - - - .
- (β) - - [καλέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσ-  
βεις τῶν Βυζ[αντίων ἐπὶ ξέν-  
ια] ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς [αὔρ]-  
ιον. ἀναγ[ρο]ράψαι δὲ τῆν σ[τήλ]-  
15 ην τὸν γραμ[μ]ατέα τῆς βουλ[ῆς].  
Οἶδε ἠιρέθησαν πρέσβει[s·]  
Ὀρθόβουλος ἐκ Κεραμέω[v]·  
Ἐξηκεστίδης Παλληνεύς·  
Ξειρόδοκος Ἀχαρνεύς·  
20 Πύρρανδρος Ἀναφλύστιος·  
Ἀλκίμαχος Ἀγγελῆθεν.  
Οἶδε ἐπρέσβευον Βυζαντ[ι]-  
ων· Κύδων, Μενέστρατος,  
Ἡγήμων, Ἐστιαῖος,  
25 Φιλῖνος.

The date is a little earlier than no. 101; the still more fragmentary inscription *C. I. A.* ii. 18 is perhaps a treaty of the

same date with Mytilene (Diod. xv. 28. 29). Cp. Grote, ch. 77; Isokr. xiv. *Plat.* 27. 28. The Byzantines were, though not the first (see l. 6), yet among the first to join the new confederacy. The restorations given of lines 7-10 are those conjectured by Dittenberger, who notes that the Chians are mentioned first on the list of allies in no. 101, and compares l. 24 of that inscription. Some of the envoys are well known. Orthobulos was hipparch of Akamantis at the battle of Haliartos (Lysias, xvi. *pro Mant.* 13). Exekestides may be the mover of the decree no. 123. Pyrrhandros is named in no. 101, § 7, as one of the envoys sent to Thebes: this is referred to by Aischines (*in Ctes.* 139), who says *ἔτι καὶ νῦν ζῆ*, in B. C. 330, so that he lived to a great age; cp. no. 102, l. 7. Kydon the Byzantine is also known to us as one of those who contrived the surrender of Byzantion to Alkibiades and the Athenians in B. C. 409-408 (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 3. 18). When Lysandros regained the town after Aigospotamoi, Kydon fled to Athens and received the citizenship (*ib.* ii. 2. 1). He must have returned to his native place after the restoration of the democracy there by Thrasybulos in 390-389 (*ib.* iv. 8. 27), and now undertakes this mission in the Athenian interest.

## 101 [81].

## Formation of the New Athenian Confederacy: B. C. 377.

*Στοιχῆδόν.* A large stelè at Athens, put together out of twenty fragments. Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.* 381, 381<sup>b</sup>; Meier, *Commentatio epigr.* i. pp. 3 foll., ii. pp. 53 foll.; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 17 and iv (2), p. 10; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 80; Michel, *Recueil*, 86; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 129, no. 138 (xxxii); Comp. Fabricius, *Rh. Mus.* 46 (1891), pp. 589 foll.; J. Zingerle, *Eranos Vindob.* 1893, p. 364; H. Swoboda, *Rh. Mus.* 49 (1894), pp. 321 foll.; W. Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* pp. 266, 308; J. Lipsius in *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1898, pp. 145 foll. Lines 12-14 were anciently erased.

Ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκου ἀρχοντος.

Καλλίβιος Κηφισοφῶντος

Παιανιεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν.

Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος [ἔβδ]όμης πρυτανείας· ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ.

- ι· Χαρίνος Ἀθμον[εὺς ἐ]πεστάτει·  
 Ἀριστοτέλης εἶ[πε· τύχ]η ἀγαθῇ τῇ Ἀ-  
 θηναίων καὶ [τ]ῶν [συμμ]άχων τῶν Ἀθηναίω-  
 ν, ὅπως ἂν Λα[κε]δ[αιμό]νιοι ἐῶσι τοὺς Ἑλλη-  
 10 νας ἐλευθέ[ρ]ους [καὶ] αὐτονόμους ἡσυχίαν  
 ἄγειν τῆ[ν χώραν] ἔχοντας ἐμ βεβαίωι τῆ-  
 [ν ἑαυτῶν . . . . .]ικ . . . . . οσ . . . . . ηι . . . . . αι  
 . . . . . α  
 . . . . . απ . . . σ . . . ε . σ . . . . . ωσ . ν  
 15 [. . . . . § 1. ἐψηφί]σθαι τῶι δήμωι, ἐάν τις βούλ-  
 [ηται τῶν Ἑλ]λήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν ἐν  
 [ἡπείρωι ἐν]οικούντων ἢ τῶν νησιωτῶν, ὅσ-  
 [οι μὴ βασι]λέως εἰσίν, Ἀθηναίων σύμμαχ-  
 [ος εἶναι κ]αὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεῖναι α[ὐτ]-  
 20 ῶ[ι ἐλευθέ]ρωι ὄντι καὶ αὐτονόμωι, πολι-  
 τ[ενομέν]ωι πολιτείαν ἦν ἂν βούληται, μή-  
 τε [φρουρ]ἂν εἰσδεχομένωι μήτε ἄρχοντα  
 ὑπο[δεχ]ομένωι μήτε φόρον φέρουτι, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τ[οῖς] αὐτοῖς ἐφ' οἷσπερ Χίοι καὶ Θηβαῖ-  
 25 οι κα[ὶ] οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι. § 2. τοῖς δὲ ποιησ-  
 αμέν[οις] συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ  
 τοὺς συ[μμ]άχους ἀφείναι τὸν δῆμον τὰ ἐγκ-  
 τήματα ὁ[π]ὸς ἂν τυγχάνη ὄν[τα ἢ ἴδι]α [ἢ δ]-  
 ημόσια Ἀθ[η]ναίων ἐν τῇ χ[ώ]οι τῶν ποιου]-  
 30 μένων τὴν συμμαχίαν κ[αὶ] περὶ τούτων π]-  
 ῖστιν δοῦναι [Ἀθηναίους· ἐὰν δὲ τυγ]χάν[η]-  
 ι τῶν πόλεων [τῶν ποιουμένων τ]ῆν συμμαχ-  
 ῖαν πρὸς Ἀθην[αίους στή]λαι οὔσαι Ἀθήνησ-  
 ι ἀνεπιτήδειο[ι, τ]ῆμ βουλῆν τὴν ἀεὶ βουλε-  
 35 ὑουσαν κυρίαν ε[ἶν]αι καθαιρεῖν· [ἀ]πὸ δὲ Ν-  
 αουινίκου ἄρχο[ν]τος μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε ἰδ-  
 ῖαι μήτε δημοσ[ί]αι Ἀθηναίων μηθεὺς ἐγ-  
 κτήσασθαι ἐν τ[α]ῖς τῶν συμμάχων χώραι-  
 40 σ μὴτε οἰκίαν μὴτε χωρίον μὴτε πριαμέ-  
 νωι μὴτε ὑποθε[μ]ένωι μὴτε ἄλλωι τρόπω-  
 ι μηθεὺς· ἐὰν δὲ τις ὠνήται ἢ κτᾶται ἢ τί-  
 θηται τρόπωι ὁτωιοῦν, ἐξεῖναι τῶι βουλο-  
 μένωι τῶν συμμάχων φῆναι πρὸς τοὺς συν-  
 ἔδρους τῶν συμμάχων· οἱ δὲ σύνεδροι ἀπο-



- 45 [δ]όμενοι ἀποδόντων [τὸ μὲν ἤ]μυσυ τῶ[ι] φήναντι, τὸ δὲ ἄ-  
 [λλο κοί]νον [ἔστ]ω τῶν συ[μμ]άχων. § 3. ἐὰν δέ τι-  
 s [ἴ]η) ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐπὶ τ[οῦ]s ποιησαμένους  
 τὴν συμμαχίαν ἢ κατὰ [γῆ]ν ἢ κατὰ θάλαττα-  
 αν, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμαχοῦς  
 50 τούτοις καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλαττα-  
 ν παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. § 4. ἐὰν δέ τι-  
 s εἴπηι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἱ[δ]ιώτη-  
 s παρὰ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ὡς λύειν τι δεῖ τ-  
 ῶν ἐν τῶιδε τῶι ψηφίσματι εἰρημέν[ων, ὑ]-  
 55 παρχέτω μ[εν] αὐτῶι ἀτίμῳ εἶναι καὶ [τὰ  
 χρ]ήμα[τα αὐτ]οῦ δημόσια ἔστω καὶ τῆs [θεοῦ  
 τ]ὸ ἐπιδ[έκα]τον καὶ κρινέσθω ἐν Ἀθηναί-  
 οἰs καὶ τ[οῖ]s συμμαχοῖs ὡς διαλύων τῆ[ν]  
 συμμαχία[ν, ζ]ημιούντων δὲ αὐτὸν θανάτω-  
 60 ἢ ἢ φυγῆι οὐ[περ] Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχο-  
 ἰ κρατοῦσ[ιν]· ἐὰν δὲ θανάτου τιμηθῆι, μὴ τα-  
 φήτω ἐν τῆ[ι] Ἀττικῆ[ι] μ[η]δὲ ἐν τῆι τῶν συμ-  
 μάχων. § 5. τὸ δ[ὲ] ψήφ[ισ]μα τότε ὁ γραμματεὺς  
 ὁ τῆs βουλῆ[s ἀναγρ]αψάτω ἐν στήλῃ λιθί-  
 65 νη καὶ καταθέ[τω] παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευ-  
 θέριον· τὸ δὲ ἀρ[γύ]ριον δῶναι εἰς τὴν ἀν-  
 αγράψην τῆs στ[ήλ]ηs ἐξήκοντα δραχμὰς  
 ἐκ τῶν δέκα ταλ[άν]των τοὺς ταμίαις τῆs θε-  
 οῦ. § 6. εἰς δὲ τὴν στήλ[η]ν ταύτην ἀναγρά-  
 70 φειν τῶν τε οὐσ[ῶ]ν πόλεων συμμαχίδων τ-  
 ἂ ὀνόματα καὶ [ἦ]τις ἂν ἄλλη σύμμαχος γί-  
 (γ)νηται. § 7. ταῦτα [μ]εν ἀναγράψαι, ἐλέσθαι δ-  
 ἐ τὸν δῆμον πρέσβεις τρεῖς αὐτίκα μάλ-  
 [α] εἰς Θήβας, [ο]ἴτινες πείσονσι Θεβαίους ὃ  
 75 [τ]ι ἂν δ[ύ]νωνται ἀγαθόν. οἶδε ἠρέθησαν·  
 [Ἀ]ριστοτέλης Μαραθώνιος. Πύρρανδρο-  
 s Ἀναφλύστ[ιος]· Θρασύβουλος Κολλυτεύς.

§ 8. *List of the allies* (inscribed in more than one hand):—

	Ἀθηναίων πόλεις αἶδε σύμμαχοι.	
	Χίοι, Τενέδιοι	Θηβαῖοι
80	Μυτιλη[ν]αῖοι	Χαλκιδῆς
	[Μ]ηθυ[μν]αῖοι	Ἐρετριῆς

	Ῥόδιοι, Ποιήσσιοι	Ἄρεθούσιοι
	Βυζάντιοι	Καρύστιοι
	Περίνθιοι	Ἴκιοι
85	Πεπαρήθιοι	Παλλ - - -
	Σκιάθιοι	- - -
	Μαρωνῖται	- -
	Διῆς	- - -
	Πάρ[ι]οι, Ὅ - - - -	- -
90	Ἄθημ[ῆ]ται, Π - - - -	- -

§ 9 contains the beginning of another decree proposed by the same Aristoteles. § 10. On the left side of the slab the names of the confederate cities are continued as follows:—

[Κερκυ]ραίων | [ὁ δῆ]μος, | [Ἄβδη]ρίται, | [Θάσ]ιοι, | [Χαλκι]δης |  
 ἀπὸ [Θράκης], | Αἴνιοι, | Σαμόθραικ[ες], | Δικαιοπολίται, ||  
 10 Ἀκαρνᾶνες, | Κεφαλλήνων | Πρῶννοι, | Ἀλκέτας, | Νεοπτόλεμος, |  
 20 Ἰάσων, | Ἄνδριοι, | [Τ]ήνιοι, | [Ἐσ]τιαίης, | Μυ[κ]όνιοι, || Ἄντισ-  
 σαῖοι, | Ἐρέσιοι, | Ἀστραίουσιοι, | Κείων | Ἰουλιῆται, | Καρθαιεῖς, |  
 30 Κορήσιοι, | Ἐλαιούσιοι, | Ἀμόργιοι, | Σηλυμβριανοί, || Σίφνιοι, |  
 Σικινῆται, | Διεῖς | ἀπὸ Θράκης, | Νεοπολίται, | Ζακυν[θ]ίων | ὁ  
 δῆμος | ὁ ἐν τῷ Νήλλωι.

For a fuller treatment see Busolt, *Der zweite Athenische Bund* (*Jahrb. f. class. Phil.*, Suppl. vii. 1873-5, pp. 641-866); A. Schäfer, *De sociis Atheniensium Chabriæ et Timothei ætate*, &c. Lips. 1856; Gilbert, *Gr. Const. Antiq.* pp. 435 foll. But for the most part Diod. xv. 28-30, and Holm, *Hist. Gr.* iii. ch. vii. will suffice. We will note a few minor points. § 1. The chief object of the confederacy is the delivery of the Greeks from the Spartan supremacy. The qualification of ὅσοι μὴ βασιλέως εἰσὶν is intended to avoid a suspicion of infringement of the peace of Antalkidas. For the Chians see nos. 98, 100. The Thebans became allies of Athens in B.C. 378; for the date at which they joined the κοινὸν συνέδριον (which existed before the organization of the new confederacy by this decree) see below under § 8. The provisions in § 2, directed against any approach to the system of κληρουχίαι, are well discussed by Grote (ch. 77). But it should be noted that while Diodoros uses the term κληρουχίαι, the decree has the less special word ἐγκτήματα. There were no Athenian kleruchies

(in the old sense) at this time. § 3. The alliance is defensive only. § 4. From the phrase ἐν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις it does not follow that there was a joint court; the competence of the allies was probably restricted to offenders in their own territory. (See Lipsius, *loc. cit.* p. 155.) § 5. The statue of Zeus Eleutherios was in the Kerameikos; see Pausan. i. 3. 1, who mentions statues of Konon, Timotheos, and Euagoras the Kyprian, at the same spot. Thirty drachmai was the usual cost of inscribing a decree: but this is a long one, and names were to be added from time to time. On this reserve fund of ten talents see p. 222. § 6. The list is given below. § 7. For Pyrrhandros see no. 100; Thrasybulos, namesake and comrade of the liberator, is mentioned by Xen. *Hellen.* v. 1. 26, as commanding the fleet, and by Dem. *de Cor.* p. 301, as an orator of mark; cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 23; Dem. xxiv. *in Timocr.* 134; Aischin. iii. (*in Ctes.*) 138. § 8. *The list of confederates.* Köhler held that the names of the Chians, Mytilenaians, Methymnaians, Rhodians, and Byzantines were inscribed in the same hand with the preceding decree, while the Thebans were entered by a second hand, which also inscribed the Tenedians, Chalkidians, Eretrians, Poiessians, Arethusians, Karystians. Fabricius, on the other hand, ascribes the Thebans to the first group; and Lipsius (supported by Wilhelm) agrees with him. There is a further difference as to the Ikians, Köhler placing them in a third, Fabricius in the second group. In the third group all agree in placing the Perinthians, Peparethians, Skiathians, Maronitai, Dieis; Köhler adds the Παλλ . . . Diod. xv. 28 says: πρῶτοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὑπήκουσαν Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι, μετὰ τοὺτους Ῥόδιοι καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς νησιωτῶν. Since Köhler seems to have been mistaken as to the Thebans, we must add them to the list of original members; in ll. 23 foll. their position is mentioned as typical, and Diodoros mentions them in a very early stage of the proceedings. Thebes, which had been in alliance with Athens itself since spring 378, therefore joined the κοινὸν συνέδριον before the organization of the Confederacy by this decree. The embassy in § 7 must refer to some other matter; perhaps the Thebans were already showing themselves unwilling to abide by the terms of the confederacy. The rest

of the confederates' names were added afterwards, as the alliance extended. Thus Abdera joined after the battle of Naxos (Diod. xv. 36). Similarly Hestiaia comes low down in the list: see Diod. xv. 30. Also the three towns of Keos, Iulis, Karthaia, Koressos are separated from the fourth, viz. Ποιήσσιοι. The δῆμος of Zakynthos, apparently established outside of the city in a Zakynthian mountain called Nellos, and the δῆμος of Korkyra, in a similar position, are enrolled as allies of Athens, like the 'Samian δῆμος' of the old confederacy. The Korkyraian democrats probably approached Athens before the expedition of Timotheos, which settled the quarrel between democrats and aristocrats in favour of the former. After that expedition Athens received Korkyraians, Akarnanians and Kephallenians in a combined treaty, preserved in no. 105. In the interval, thanks to the expedition of Chabrias, Abdera, Thasos and other Thracian cities had come in. These were inscribed on the stone just after Κερκυραίων ὁ δῆμος. When subsequently Korkyra as a whole with Akarnania and Kephallenia joined the alliance, it was not deemed necessary to repeat the name of Korkyra. Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 2. 2, and Diod. xv. 45, tell us of Timotheos' dealings with the Zakynthian factions: see Grote, ch. 77. Alketas and Neoptolemos (§ 10, lines 13, 14) were the king of the Molossoi and his son. Neoptolemos succeeded his father, dividing the kingdom with his brother Arybbas (see no. 144); and his daughter Olympias was the mother of Alexander the Great. Iason of Pherai, whose name probably followed in line 14, was overlord of Alketas (Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 1. 7), and the two are called allies in B. C. 373 (Dem. xlix. *contr. Timoth.* 10, 22). The erasure of the name points to his early defection. Observe that no cities of Asia Minor are here enrolled: the 'peace of Antalkidas' had left them in the hands of the Great King (§ 1), until Alexander freed them. A number of names are broken away in ll. 85 foll., e. g. probably Naxos. It is clear from this document that Diodoros' estimate is true enough (xv. 30): τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς συμμαχίαν συνέβησαν ἑβδομήκοντα πόλεις.

## 102 [79].

## Alliance between Athens and Chalkis in Euboeia : B. C. 377.

Στοιχηδόν. A stèle discovered near the Dionysiac theatre : Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 17 b, p. 398 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 81 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 87 ; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 136, no. 141 (xxxv). Comp. Höck, *Jahrb. f. Philol.* 1878, p. 479 ; Busolt, *Der zweite Athen. Bund* (*Jahrb. f. class. Phil.*, Suppl. vii. 1873-5), pp. 744 foll.

[Ἀρ]ιστοτέλης Εὐφιλήτου

[Ἀχ]αρνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε[ν].

[Ἐπ]ὶ Ναυσινίκου ἄρχοντος.

- [Ἐδο]ξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· Λεωντ[ί]ς  
 5 ἐπρυτ[άνευεν, Ἀριστοτέλης ἐγραμμάτευ-  
 [εν, τῶν π]ροέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Παντάρετο-  
 [ς . . . .]ιεύς· Πύρραυδρος εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν λ-  
 [έγουσιν] οἱ Χαλκιδῆς, προσαγ[α]γῆν αὐτοὺς π-  
 [ρὸς τὸν δ]ῆμον ἐς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν, γ-  
 10 [νώμην] δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς ὅ[τι] δο-  
 [κεῖ τῆ]ι βουλῆι δέχεσθαι τὴν συμμαχία[ν] π-  
 [αρὰ τῶγ] Χαλκιδέ[ω]ν τύχηι ἀγαθῆι καθὰ ἐπ-  
 αγγ[έλλου]τα[ι] οἱ Χαλκιδῆς· ὁμόσαι δὲ τῆ]ν  
 πό[λι]ν Χα[λκιδεῦ]σ[ιν] καὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδέα[ς] Ἀ-  
 15 θ[ηναίο]ις κα[ὶ] ἀν[α]γράφαι ἐ° στήληι λιθί[ν]η-  
 ηι κα[ὶ] στ[ή]σα[ι] Ἀθῆ]νησι μὲν ἐν ἀκροπόλ[ει,  
 ἐ]ν [δὲ Χαλ]κιδ[εῖ] ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Ἀθηναίας [τ-  
 ὸν ὄρκου] καὶ [τὰς σ]υνθήκας· εἶναι δὲ σ[υ]νθ-  
 ῆκας Ἀθ[ηναίο]ις κα[ὶ] Χαλκιδεῦσιν τάσ[δε]  
 20 συμμαχί[α] Χαλ[κιδέ]ων τῶν ἐν Εὐ[β]οίαι [καὶ  
 Ἀθηναίων· ἔχει[ν τῆ]ν ἑαυτῶν Χαλκιδέ[ας] ἐλ-  
 ευθέρ[ους] ὄντα[ς καὶ] αὐτονόμους καὶ . . . . .  
 . . . . . s μήτε φρουρὰν ὑποδεχομένους [παρ’  
 Ἀθηναίων μή]τε φόρον φέρουτας μήτε [ἄρχ-  
 25 οντα παραδ]εχομένους παρὰ τὰ δόγματ[α τῶ-  
 ν συμμαχῶν· ἐὰν δέ] τις [ἴ]ηι [ἔ]πι[ν] πο[λ]έ[μ]ω[ι] ἐπ-  
 ἰ τὴν χώραν - - -]

Compare the earlier inscription no. 100. See Diod. xv. 30, πρῶται δὲ καὶ προθυμώτατα συνεμάχησαν αἱ κατὰ τὴν Εὐβοίαν οἰκοῦσαι, χωρὶς Ἑστιαίας ; this was after the passing of the

decree about the formation of the confederacy (no. 101). On the stone recording that decree the names of the Euboian cities (lines 80 foll.) were added at a date subsequent to the inscribing of the decree itself and in a different hand. For the mover of this decree, see no. 100. It is interesting to refer to the earlier settlement of Chalkis in B. C. 446: no. 40. Ll. 22-23: [αὐτοσπόνδου]s (?) Wilhelm; [ἀφορολογήτου]s Dittenberger. Possibly κα[θάπερ Ἀθηναίου]s; cp. no. 96, l. 25.

## 103.

## Methymna admitted to the Confederacy: B. C. 377.

On a marble slab found on the Akropolis at Athens. Στοιχηδόν from l. 5. Mylonas, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xii (1888), p. 138, no. 6; Lolling, *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. z. Berlin*, 1888, p. 243; Köhler, *C. I. A.* iv (2), p. 10, no. 18 b; Michel, *Recueil*, 88; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 82; W. Judeich, *Kleinias. Stud.* 269; E. Szanto, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xvi. p. 30, note 2; A. Wilhelm, *ib.* xvii. p. 191, no. 2; H. Swoboda, *Rh. Mus.* xlix. p. 342; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 135, no. 140 (xxxiv); H. Sauppe, *Ausgewählte Schr.* (1896), p. 807.

[Ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ - -  
 . . ἰς ἐπρυτ]άνευεν, Καλ[λ . . . . . Ἄλω]-  
 πεκῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν, Σιμω[ν . . . . .]-  
 ιος ἐπεστάται· Ἀστύφιλος εἶπεν· περὶ  
 ὧν οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι λέγουσιν, ἐπειδ-  
 5 ἡ σύμ(μ)αχοί εἰσιν καὶ εἴνοι τῆι πόλη-  
 ι τῆι Ἀθηναίων Μηθυμναῖοι, ὅπως ἂν  
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους συμμαχοὺς τοὺς Ἀθ-  
 ηναίων ἢ αὐτοῖς ἢ συμμαχία, ἀναγρ-  
 ἀψαι αὐτοὺς τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆ-  
 10 ς, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι ἀναγρ-  
 εγραμμένοι εἰσίν· ὁμόσαι δὲ τὴν πρ-  
 εσβείαν τῶν Μηθυμναίων τὸν αὐτὸν  
 ὄρκον, ὅμπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι  
 ὤμοσαν, τοῖς τε συνέδροις τῶν συμμ-  
 15 ἀχων καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς  
 ἱπάρχοις. ὁμόσαι δὲ τοῖς Μηθυμνα-  
 ῖοις τοὺς τε συνέδρους τῶν συμμαχ[ω]  
 καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἱπάρχον-  
 ς κατὰ ταῦτά. ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ Αἴ[σι]-

20 μὸν καὶ τοὺς συνέδροὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν [νε]-  
 ῶν ὅπως ἂν ὁμόσωσιν αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἱ Μ[ηθ]-  
 υμναίων καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι[ι].  
 ἐπαιέσαι δὲ τῆμ πόλιν τῆν Μηθυμν-  
 αίων καὶ καλέσαι τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν  
 25 Μηθυμναίων ἐπὶ ξένια.

At the time of the foundation of the new confederacy, the Methymnians were already in alliance with Athens; they now send ambassadors asking to be put on the list of the confederacy (no. 101). This must have been very early in the history of the confederacy (see no. 101, note on § 8). We see from lines 20, 21 that the representatives of the confederacy were sailing about the Aegaeon swearing in the allies. The formality of swearing had to be gone through three times, by the envoys of the State seeking admission (lines 12 foll.), by the syndedrion, with which were combined the representatives of Athens (line 17), and finally by the magistrates of the new ally (line 21).

### 104 [82].

#### Accounts of the Athenian Commissioners of the Delian Temple funds, from B. C. 377 to B. C. 373.

The 'Sandwich' marble (in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, where it has been re-read), combined with a fragment at Athens (lines 41-109). *Στοιχηδόν*. See *C. I. G.* 158; *C. I. A.* ii. 814 and 814 b; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 86, and Add. p. 641; Michel, *Recueil*, 577. Comp. Böekh, *Staatshausk.*<sup>3</sup> ii. pp. 68 foll.; Lebègue, *Recherches sur Délos*, p. 295; Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* viii (1884), p. 290; V. de Schoeffer, *de Deli ins. rebus*, pp. 54 foll.

Some account has been given on nos. 50 and 76 of the relations between Athens and Delos. The formation of the Delian confederacy under Athens, and the placing of the common funds in the temple, had tended to subordinate the religious interests of Delos to the political. The transference of the treasury to Athens in B. C. 454 (no. 33) would still further diminish its prestige: so that amid the troubles of the Peloponnesian war, though the Athenians and the islanders still continued to send their *θεωρίαι*, in B. C. 426 the splendour of the festival had dwindled almost to nothing (see Thuk. iii. 104). In 426 the

Athenians re-established the Delian festival, and the magnificent *θεωρία* of Nikias (Plut. *Nic.* 3) belonged to the second or third celebration. Henceforward the Athenians undertook the direct management of the temple and its treasures. If we are right in concluding from no. 83 that after Aigospotamoi the Athenians were for a time dispossessed, we may hazard the conjecture that their influence in Delos was restored (not without some opposition, as this inscription testifies) at the formation of the New Athenian Confederacy in B. C. 378-7. The Delian Commissioners were called *Ἀμφικτιόνες*, because *in theory* they were the deputies *τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν* (Thuk. *loc. cit.*) to whom the festival pertained from olden times. The great festival took place on the sixth and seventh of Thargelion (May) in the third year of each Olympiad: a lesser festival took place yearly. (See however A. Mommsen, in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1886, pp. 329 foll.) The financial term dated from one great festival to another, and this inscription accordingly gave the accounts of the four years in which Kalleas, Charisandros, Hippodamas, and Sokratides were archons, i. e. B. C. 377-376 to 374-373 (see § 8). The following paraphrase will explain the heading § 1: 'In the name of the gods. Sums called in by the Athenian Amphiktyons (i. e. Delos-Commissioners) from Kalleas' archonship down to Thargelion in Hippodamas' year (—according to Attic reckoning, but in Delian reckoning, from Epigenes' archonship down to Thargelion in Hippias' year—) during the term for which the Amphiktyons held office; their secretary being Diodoros, son of Olympiodoros of Skambonidai; (the Amphiktyons being) Idiotes, son of Theogenes of Acharnai, during Charisandros archonship, down to the commencement in Hekatombaion of Hippodamas' archonship; Sosigenes, son of Sosiades of Xypetè, during the year of Kalleas' archonship; Epigenes, son of Metagenes of Koilè, Antimachos, son of Euthynomos of Marathon, Epikrates, son of Menestratos of Pallene.'

Thus during this period of three years there were always four Amphiktyons in office with their secretary Diodoros. In the first year (377-376) they were Sosigenes, Epigenes, Antimachos, Epikrates; in the next year, Sosigenes was replaced by Idiotes, who held office until the beginning



of the year of Hippodamas (July B. C. 375); in B. C. 374-373 the number was raised to five, Nikomenes and another (l. 60) coming on. Five Amphikytos and a secretary are mentioned in another inscription (*Bull. Corr. Hellén.* viii (1884), p. 294, no. 7), and that seems to have been the normal number after the first few years. The board of Amphikytos appointed in 377-376, since they do not refer to any earlier board, were presumably the first after the re-acquisition by Athens of the government of the Delian temple (which, as we have said, probably took place in B. C. 378-377 when the new confederacy was organized). After this board had served for three years the administration was reorganized. The accounts for these three years, or rather two years and a part of the third, are therefore given together.

§ 1. *Heading.* [Θ]εο[ί]. | Τάδε ἔπραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Καλλέου ἄρχοντος μέχρι τοῦ Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, | ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐπιγένους ἄρχοντος μέχρι τοῦ Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνὸς || τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰππίου ἄρχοντος, χρόνον ὅσον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἤρχειν, οἷς Διόδωρος Ὀλυμπιοδώρου Σκαμβωνίδης ἐγραμμάτευεν, ἀπὸ Χαρισάνδρου ἄρχοντος Ἰδιώτης Θεογένους Ἀχαρνέως μέχρι τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος, Σωσιγένης Σωσιάδου Ξυπεταίων ἐνιαυτῶν 10 ἐπὶ Καλλέου ἄρχοντος· Ἐπιγένη[s M]εταγένους ἐκ Κολλίλης, Ἀντίμαχος Εὐθυνόμου Μαραθῶνιος, Ἐ[π]ικρά[τη]ς Μενεστράτου Π[α]λληνεύς.

§ 2. *Interest paid by cities on loans borrowed from the Temple:—*

Αἴδε τῶν πόλεων τ[οῦ] τόκου ἀπέδο[σ]αν·

Μυκόνιοι ΧΗΗ<sup>Α</sup>Δ

Σύριοι ΧΧΗΗΗ

Τήνιοι Τ

Κεῖοι [Α<sup>Α</sup>ΗΗΗ]Η<sup>Α</sup>ΔΔΗΗ<sup>Α</sup>ΙΙΙΙC

Σερίφιοι Χ<sup>Α</sup>Η

Σίφνιοι | ΧΧΧΗ<sup>Α</sup>ΔΔΔΔ<sup>Α</sup>ΙΙΗ

Ἰήται Α<sup>Α</sup>ΗΗΗ

[Πάριοι] ΧΧ<sup>Α</sup>ΗΗΗΗ<sup>Α</sup>ΔΔ

Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου Χ|ΧΧΧ

Θερμαῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου ΗΗΗ[Η]

15 [Κε]φάλαιον τόκου παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ΤΤΤ||[Τ]ΧΧΧ[ΓΗΗΗΗ]Δ  
 ΔΔΔΤΤΤΠΣ.

The cities are all from the neighbouring islands: on loans from temple funds, see no. 62.

§ 3. *Interest similarly paid by individuals (cities of Delos and Tenos):—*

Οἱ[δ]ε τῶν ἰδιω(τῶ)ν<sup>1</sup> τοῦ τόκου ἀπέδσαν  
 Ἄριστω[ν] Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλοδώρου Δηλίου ΓΗΗΗΗ  
 Ἀ[ρ]τυσί[λ]εως Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Γλαυκέτου Δηλίου ΓΗΗ  
 Ὑψοκλέης Δήλιος ΗΗΗ  
 Ἀγασ[ι]κλέης Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Θεοκύδους Δηλίου ΗΗΔ[ΔΓ]  
 Θεόγνητος Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Ὑψοκλέους Δηλί[ου] ΓΗΗΗΔΤΤΠΠ  
 20 Ἀντίπατρος Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Ὑψοκλέους Δηλίου ΗΗΓΔΔΔΓΤΤ||[Π]  
 Πολυ . . . s Τήνιος ὑπὲρ Μ . . . μένους Τηνίου ΗΗΗΗ  
 Λευκίνος Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Κλειτάρχου Δηλίου ΓΗ[Η . . ΔΔ]Δ  
 Λεωφῶν Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Πιστοξέ[ι]νου Δηλίου ΗΗΗΓ  
 Πατροκλέης [Δήλ]ιος ὑπὲρ Ὑψοκλέους Δηλίου ΗΗΗ  
 Ἀρισ[τείδης] Τήνιος ὑπὲρ Οἰνάδου Τηνίου ΗΗΔ  
 [Κε]φάλαιον τόκου παρὰ τῶν ἰ[δ]ιωτῶν<sup>2</sup> Γ(?)ΗΗΗΔΔΓ

§ 4. *Other miscellaneous receipts:—*

25 Εἰσεπράχθη μνηστὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἐπισθένους Δηλίου ΗΗ||[Η]ΓΔΔΔ  
 Εἰσεπράχθη μνηστὲ[ν] παρὰ Πύθωνος Δηλίου ΧΗ(?)  
 Ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχύριον τῶν ὠφληκότων τὰς δίκαι[s], τιμῆς κε[φ]άλαιον  
 Χ[ΓΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓ]  
 Μισθῶ[σεις] τεμνῶν ἐξ Ῥηνείας ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι Χαρι-  
 σάνδρου, Ἴπποδάμαντος, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Γαλαίου, Ἴπ[πί]ου  
 ΤΤΧΗΗ[Δ]Δ  
 Μισθῶσεις τεμνῶ[ν] ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ΧΧΗΗΗ  
 ΗΓΔΔΔΤΤΤ  
 30 Οἰκίων μισθῶ[σεις] ἐπὶ Ἴπποδάμαντος ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δήλῳ  
 δὲ Ἴππίου ΗΗΓ||[Δ]ΔΔΔΓΤΤ  
 Λήμματος κεφάλαιον ΓΤΤΤΧΧΧ[ΓΗΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΠΣ].

Μνηστὲν is part of a confiscated estate which was concealed by the offender and afterwards claimed by the magistrates upon information given: see §§ 15, 16. Ἐνέχυρα are

<sup>1</sup> ΙΔΙΩΝ on the stone.

<sup>2</sup> The numerals on this stone are occasionally somewhat uncertain.

sums recovered by distraint from persons who have neglected to pay a debt proved in court; μισθώσεις are rents of houses (οικιών) or of lands belonging to the temple (τεμενῶν).

§ 5. *Expenses of the Festival (May, 374):—*

Ἄπὸ τούτου | τάδε ἀηλώθη·

Στέφανος ἀριστείου τῶι θεῶι, καὶ τῶι ἐργασαμένῳ | μισθός Χ<sup>Π</sup>

Τρίποδες νικητήρια τοῖς χοροῖς καὶ τῶι ἐργασαμένῳ | μισθός Χ[.]

Ἄρχεθεῶροις Τ

35 Εἰς κομιδὴν τῶν θεωρῶν καὶ τῶν χορῶν || [ν] Ἀντιμάχῳ Φίλωνος

Ἐρμείῳ τριηράρχῳ ΤΧ

Ἄριθμὸς βοῶν τῶν ἐ[ἰς τῆ]ν ἑορτὴν ὀνηθέντων ΗΠΙΙΙΙ

τιμὴ τούτων ΤΧΧΗΗΗΗΔΠΗΗΗ

Πέταλα [α χρυσ]ᾶ καὶ χρυσωτεῖ<sup>1</sup> μισθός ΗΔΔΠ

Εἰς τὰ προθύματα τῆς ἑορτῆς | [. . .]

[Κομ]ιδῆ τῶν τριπόδων καὶ τῶν βοῶν κ[α]ὶ πεντηκοστῆ καὶ τρο[φα]ῖ  
τοῖς βουσ]ῖ, καὶ ξύλων τιμὴ τῶν ἐπὶ [τὴν γέφυραν. . . . .]ν τιμ[ῆ]

40 . . || . . . . . καταλλ - - - (lost)

Most of § 5 will be clear to any one who will refer to Thuk. iii. 104 and Plut. *Nicias*, 3; the ἀρχιθέωροι are perhaps the chiefs not only of the Athenian theoria, but also of those sent by the allies. κομιδὴ is 'cost of carriage': πεντηκοστὴ is export duty of two per cent.: the ξύλα were possibly to make a bridge (like *Nikias*') between Rheneia and Delos; the πέταλα were for gilding the horns of the oxen sacrificed.

§ 6. Now follows a much mutilated passage relating to *expenditure on the festival*, ending (l. 47):—

[κα]ὶ Ἄμφικτυόσιν εἰς τὰ [ἐπιτή]δειά καὶ γραμματεῖ καὶ ὑπογραμ-  
ματ[εῖ] . . . ] ΔΔΔ.

Κεφάλαιον ἀν[α]λώματος: - - -

§ 7. *Sums lent out at interest:—*

50 [Τοῖσδε ἔδανεί]σμεν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς συνθήκαις κα[θ]άπερ οἱ ἄλλοι  
χρήματα πα[ρὰ] τοῦ Ἀπ[ό]λλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου δεδανεισμ[έ]νοι εἰσί - - -  
(a mutilated series of names)]. L. 55: περίεστι ΤΧΧΧ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗ  
Η<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΠ - - - |

<sup>1</sup> εἰ as often for ηἰ; see p. 189.

§ 8. *The board of Athenians and Andrians for B.C. 374-373*:— [Τάδε εἴπραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκι[ροφοριῶνος μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰπ[ποδάμ]αντος ἄρχοντος μέχρι Σωκρατίδ[ου ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δήλ[ωι δὲ ἀπὸ Πανήμου μηνὸς μέχρι Πυρραίθ[ου ἄρχοντος, οἷς Διόδωρος Ὀλ[υμπι]οδώρου Σκαμβωνίδης ἐγράμ-  
 60 ματευ[εν, Ἀθηναίων . . . . . || . . . ]δου Ὁῆθεν, Νικο-  
 μέ[εν]ης Ἰ[έ]ρωνος Ἀλα[ιεύς, Ἐπιγένης Μεταγένους ἐκ Κοί]λης,  
 Ἀντίμαχος Εὐθυσνόμου Μαραθῶ[νιος, Ἐπικράτης Μενεστράτ]ου  
 Παλ[ληνεύς, Ἀνδρίων Δαμάλης Δαμάλου, [. . . . .  
 . . . . . | . Λε[ωγορ]ίδ[ου, Θεοτέλης Ἀνδροκρίτου, Με - - - |

§ 9. *Income from rents*:—

[μισθ]ώσεις τεμενῶν ἐ[ξ] Ῥηνε[ί]ας· ΤΗΗΗΗ - - -  
 65 [μισθ]ώσεις τεμενῶν ἐγ || Δήλου· Χ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΤΤ  
 μ[ι]σθώσεις οἰκ[ι]ῶν· ΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔ[ΔΔΓΤΤ]  
 [λ]ήμματος κεφάλαιον ΤΧΧΧΔΤΤ

§ 10. *Expenditure*:—ἀπὸ [τούτου τότε ἀνυλῶθη]

[εἰς ἱερὰ τ[ὰ κ]ατὰ μῆνα καὶ μουσικῆς ἄθλα καὶ γυμ[ν] . . . . .  
 . . . . . | . καὶ σαλπικτεῖ καὶ κήρυκι καὶ τῶι  
 ὑ . . . . . | . . κο . . Χ<sup>(Π)</sup>Η<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΤΤ  
 70 ΙΙΙΙΙΙ

τὸ τειχίον ἀνοικ[ο]δομηῆσαι τὸ . . . . . || . . ]η καὶ εἰς  
 ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ἐπιστασίου [κα]ὶ τοῦ α[. . . . . καὶ εἰς |  
 ἀν]άθεσ[σ]ιν τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ εἰς τὰς σ . . . . . ἰδας [καὶ . . .  
 . . . . . τ[ο]ῖς ἐπὶ τὰς δίκας πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τ[ῆς] βουλῆς· ἐν . .  
 . . . . . | . . ων· <sup>Π</sup> <sup>Π</sup>

Ἀμφικτύουσιν Ἀθηναίων εἰς [τ]ἀπ[ι]τήδει[α καὶ γραμματεῖ κα]ὶ  
 ὑπ[ο]γραμματεῖ ΧΧ<sup>Π</sup>Η<sup>Π</sup>ΓΤΤ

75 Ἀμφικτ[ύ]οσιν Ἀνδ[ρίων] εἰς τὰπιτήδει[α]· ΧΧ]Η  
 κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος· ΤΧΗΔΔΓΤΤΤΤΙΙΙΙΙΙ |  
 κεφάλαιον τοῦ περιόντος σὺν τ[ῶι] ]ἐκ τοῦ προ[τέρου] λόγου·  
 Τ<sup>Π</sup> <sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>Δ[ΤΤ]

§ 11. (Ll. 77 foll.) *Sums lent out at interest*:—[Ἀπὸ τ]ούτου  
 τοῖσδε ἐδανείσαμεν Δηλίων ἐ[π]ὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς συνθήκαι[s, καθά]περ  
 οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ [ι]ερὰ χρήματ[α] τοῦ Ἀπόλλω[νος τοῦ Δηλίου δεδανε]-  
 ισμένοι εἰσίν, . ΧΧΧ· τοῦτο ὀφείλου[σιν] δανειστ[αί] - - - (a muti-  
 lated list of names, &c.).

The remainder of the inscription gives the arrears of interest, &c., for the whole quadriennium.

§ 12. *Further sums which ought to have been paid by certain cities as interest due,—a portion only having been paid (see § 2) :—*

110 Αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τοῦ τό[κ]ου, ὃν ἔδει αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας | ἀρχῆς ἀποδοῦναι, [ἐ]νέλιπον, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέδωσαν τῶν τεττάρων | ἐτῶν,

Κεῖοι ΧΧΧΧΗΔΔΓΓΓΓΙ

Μυκόνιοι ΗΗΗΗΔΔ

Σύριοι ΧΧΧ|Χ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗΗ

Σίφνιοι ΧΧ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ

Τήνιοι ΧΧΗΗΗΗ

Θερμαῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου ΗΗΗΗ

Πάριοι ΤΤΤΤΧ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ

115 Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου || Τ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΔ

§ 13. *Arrears of interest owed by cities which paid no portion of their interest during the four years :—*

Αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τὸν τόκον οὐκ ἀπέδωσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι | Καλλέου, Χαρισάνδρου, Ἴπποδάμαντος, Σωκρατίδου, ἐν Δήλῳ | δὲ Ἐπιγένους, Γαλαίου, Ἴππίου, Πυρραΐθου·

Νάξιοι ΤΧΧΧ<sup>Π</sup>Η

\*Ανδ<sup>ρ</sup>ιοι ΤΤ

Καρύστιοι ΤΧΧΗΗΗΗ

(after this comes an erasure of eleven spaces, where stood the name of a city which paid its arrears immediately after the stone was cut).

§ 14. *Arrears of interest not paid by individuals :—*

120 Οἶδε τῶν ἰδιω<sup>ν</sup> τῶν τὸν τόκον οὐκ ἀπέδωσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι Καλλέου, Χαρισάνδρου, Ἴπποδάμαντος, Σωκρατίδου, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Ἐπιγένους, Γαλαίου, Ἴππίου, Πυρραΐθου.

Ἀγάθαρχος Ἀρίστωνος Δή[λι]ος ΗΗΗΗ

Ἀγ|ακλῆς Ὑψοκλέους Τήνιος ΗΗ . .

125 Εὐφραίνετος Εὐφ[ά]ντου Δή||λιος ΗΔ

Ἀλκμεωνίδης Θρασυ . . . ου Ἀθηναῖος <sup>Π</sup>Δ

Γλαύκιππος Κλειτάρχου Δήλιος ΗΗΗΗΔ

. . . ων Καρύστιος ΗΗ

Σκυλλί|ας Ἄνδριος ΗΗ  
 Ὑψοκλέης Θεο[γνή]του Δήλιος ΗΗΗΗ  
 Πριανεύ|ς Σύριος Γαλήσιος ΔΔΔΔΓΓ  
 . . . . . κλείδης Θρασυννά(δ)ου | Δήλιος ΠΠΠ  
 Ἄβρων Θράσωνος Σ[φήτ]τιος ΗΗΠΔΔΔ  
 130 Λάχης Λάχ||ητος Στειριεύς ΠΠΗΗ  
 . μαισι . . . . Νυμφοδώρου Δήλιος ΗΔΔ|ΔΔ  
 Θράσων Ἄρρωνος Σφήττιο[ς . . .]  
 [Ἀ]ριστηίδης Δεινομέν|ους Τήνιος ὑπὲρ Οἰνάδου (τοῦ) Κλεο . . .  
 [Τ]ηνίου ΗΗΔ|

§ 15. *Fines inflicted but not yet paid*:—

Οἶδε ὦφλον Δηλίων ἀσεβείας [ἐπὶ Χ]αρισάνδρου ἄρχοντος |  
 Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Γαλαῖου. τ[ίμημα] τὸ [ἐ]πιγε[γ]ραμμένον ||  
 135 [κ]αὶ ἀειφυγία, ὅτι [κ]α[ὶ] ἐκ τοῦ ἱερ[οῦ] τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου  
 ἦ|γον τοὺς Ἀμφικτύοντας καὶ ἔτυ[πτον] Ἐπιγένης Πολυκράτου|ς  
 Μ. Πύρραιθος Ἀντιγόνου Μ. Πατροκλέης Ἐπισθένους Μ. | (*Here  
 a name is erased*). Ἀριστοφῶν Λευκίππου Μ. Ἀντιφῶν  
 Τύννω|[ν]ος Μ. [Ὀ]δοιτέλης Ἀντιγόνου Μ. Τηλεφάνης Πολυάρ-  
 κους Μ. ||

In the second year of the quadriennium, eight (?) Delians had been fined 10,000 dr. each (τίμημα), as is appended to their names (τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον, i. e. M), and sentenced to perpetual banishment, for dragging the Amphiktyons out of the temple and assaulting them. One of the names is erased, leaving seven. Of these, two bear the names of the Delian archons of the first and fourth years—Epigenes and Pyrrhaitos. Doubtless they are the selfsame men. But how could Pyrrhaitos be elected archon at Delos after the sentence of ἀειφυγία? Quite well: for Delos was not a part of Attic territory or of the confederation, to which alone the ἀειφυγία would refer; and what more likely than that the patriotic party at Delos should select as their archon a man who had even violently challenged the Athenian occupation of the temple? For the Delians resented it bitterly, and repeatedly claimed the restoration of their rights, as the *Δηλιακοὶ λόγοι* of several of the orators (written in defence of the Athenian occupation) prove (see Hypereides, *Frag.* xiii). How long after the time of Demosthenes the Delians

remained deprived of their temple we do not know. Von Schöffer (pp. 87 foll.) is inclined to date the restoration as late as B. C. 308-307. In B. C. 166 the Romans made over Delos again to Athens (Polyb. xxx. 18; xxxii. 17; see however Lebègue, p. 305). Its devastation under Mithradates is recorded by Pausan. iii. 23. 3.

§ 16. *List of houses dedicated to Apollo:—*

140 Οἰκ[ίαι] ἐν Δῆ[λωι] ἱεραὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τ[ῶν] Δηλίου. Οἰκία  
ἐν Κολω[νώϊ], ἣ ἦν Εὐ[φάν]του, ἣ γείτων Ἄλεξος· | [τὰ] κεραμεῖα,  
ἃ ἦν Εὐφά[ντου], ο[ἷ]ς γείτων τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ Ἀρ[ίσ]τωνος ἐμ  
πεδίωι· οἰκία, ἣ ἦν Λευ[κίπ]που, ἣ γείτων [Ἀ]γησί[λαος]· οἰκία,  
145 ἣ ἦν Ἐπισθέ[νου]s, ἣ[ι] γείτων ἡ ὀδός· χαλκεῖον, δ ἣ[ι] [Ἄ]ευκίπ-  
που, ὧι γείτων . . . . . δεων οἰκήματα· οἰκία | . . . . .  
. . . . . : [οἰκία, ἣ ἦν Ἐπισθένου]s, ἣ γείτων  
- - - αἱ ἦσαν] Λευκίππου, αἷς γεί[των - - - γείτων οἰκήμ]α[τα  
- - - ] ἃ ἦν Εὐ[φ]άντου - - -

These are no doubt confiscated properties. Some of the names are the same as in § 15. Οἰκία is a dwelling-house, οἴκημα a building. Χαλκεῖον is a bronze foundry. The Delian bronze was famous (Pliny, *N. H.* xxiv. 2).

## 105 [83].

### The Korkyraians, Akarnanians, and Kephallenians join the Alliance : B. C. 375.

Στοιχῆδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 49 and iv (2), p. 13; Lolling, *Δελτ. ἀρχ.* 1888, p. 174; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 83; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 138, no. 143 (xxxvii) A. Comp. A. Schäfer, *De Sociis Atheniensium*, &c., p. 12.

[Φ]ιλοκλήs Ω[ - - - - - ] ἐγραμμάτευεν.  
Ἐπὶ Ἱπποδάμου[ντος] ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆs Ἀντιοχίδος δ-  
ευτέρας πρυτανείας, ἣ Φιλοκλήs Ω . . . . .  
. ἐγραμ(μ)άτευσ' ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Κρ[ίτ-  
5 ι]ος εἶπε· περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν ἐν τῆι βουλῆι οἱ π[ρ]έσβ[ει-  
s] τῶν Κερκυραίων καὶ τ[ῶν] Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν Κεφα[λ]-  
λήνων, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τ[οὺς] π[ρ]έσβεις Κερκυραίων [κ]α-  
ὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Κεφαλήνων, ὅτι εἰσὶ ἄνδρες [ἀ]γα[θ]-  
οὶ περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν [Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς] συμμάχους [κ]-  
10 αὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῶι πρόσθεν χρόνωι· ὅπως δ' ἂν πραχθῆ[ι]

ὧν δέονται, προσαγαγε[ῖν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γν[ώ]μ[η]-  
 ν δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς [βουλῆς, ὅτι δοκεῖ] τῇ βουλῆ-  
 ι ἀνα[γ]ράψαι τῶν πόλεων τ[ῶν ἡκουσῶν τὰ δῶματα [ἐ]ς  
 τὴν στήλην τὴν κοινὴν τῶ[ν συμμάχων τὸν] γραμμα[τ]έ-  
 15 α τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀποδοῦνα[ι τοὺς ὄρκους τα]ῖς πόλε[σι]  
 ταῖς ἡκούσαις τὴν βουλῆν [καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς (?) καὶ το]-  
 ῦς ἱππέας, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχ[ους ὀμνύναι τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρ]-  
 κον· πραχθέντων δὲ τούτ[ων . . . . . καθ' ὅ]  
 τι ἂν δόξει τῶι κοινῶι [τῶν συμμάχων, πέμψαι τοὺς ἀπ]-  
 20 οληψομένους τοὺς ὄρκους [. . . . . ἀνα]-  
 γραφη[σομέν]ους εἰς τ[ὴν] σ[τή]λην τὴν κοινὴν οὗ οἱ σύμ]-  
 μαχοι ἐ[γγ]εγραμ[μ]ένου εἰσίν· π[έ]μψαι δὲ καὶ συνέδρου]-  
 s τῶν πό[λ]εων ἐκάστην ἐς τὸ συ[ν]έδριον τῶς συμμάχω-  
 ν] κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῶς συμμάχω[ν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἰθην-  
 25 αῖ]ων· περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰακαρνάνων σκ[έ]ψασθαι κοινῆι μετ-  
 ᾶ Α]λσχυλοῦ [καὶ] Ε[ύ]ρχου καὶ Εὐρυ[- - καὶ - -  
 . . ο]s καὶ [. . . . . καὶ Ἰ]υσιά[δου - - -

So Köhler and, in the main, Dittenberger. Lolling has:—

τοὺς συμμάχ[ους οἵτινες ὄμοσαν τὸν ὄρ]-  
 κον, πραχθέντων δὲ τούτ[ων τοῦ λοιποῦ κύριον εἶναι ὅ]  
 τι ἂν δόξει τῶι κοινῶι, [ἐλέσθαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τοὺς ἀπ]-  
 20 οληψομένους τοὺς ὄρκους [παρὰ τῶν πόλεων τοὺς καὶ ἀνα]-  
 γραφη[σομέ]νους εἰς τὴν στή[λην τὴν κοινὴν οὗ οἱ σύμ]-  
 μαχοι ἐγγεγραμμένοι εἰσίν, κ.τ.λ.

Wilhelm makes the very probable suggestion that another secretary's name (Φύλακος - - - Οἰναῖος, see *C. I. A.* iv (2) 49c) may be restored in l. 3, and that Philokles' name stands at the head because he was secretary at the time when several decrees were inscribed, like Kephisophon in no. 81 (above p. 165).

This decree dates from the autumn of B. C. 375, immediately after Timotheos' visit to Korkyra (*Xen. Hellen.* v. 4. 64). The result of this decree was that the names of Kephallenia and Akarnania were inscribed upon the list (no. 101); that of the Korkyraian demos had already been inscribed (see above, p. 196). An alliance was made with them, of which the treaty with Korkyra is extant (no. 106).



The Akarnanians, after the alliance they concluded with Athens at the opening of the Peloponnesian war (Thuk. ii, 68), were among the staunchest of the Athenian allies, with the exception of one town (Thuk. ii. 102, *Ολιβάδας δέει ποτε πολεμίους ὄντας μόνους Ἀκαρνάνων*, cp. i. 111). Their personal affection for the Athenian general Phormion is testified to by Thuk. ii. 81 foll., 102 foll.; iii. 7 (cp. no. 149). Not less cordial were their relations with Demosthenes (Thuk. iii. 94 foll., 107 foll.). So on the Athenian side in the Syrakusan expedition (Thuk. vii. 57), καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων τινὲς ἅμα μὲν κέρδει, τὸ δὲ πλεόν Δημοσθένους φίλιᾷ καὶ Ἀθηναίων εὐνοίᾳ ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἐπεκούρησαν. Again they fought for Athens in the Korinthian war (Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 2. 17; cp. iv. 6. 1 foll.). In B. C. 389 Agesilaos forced them into alliance with Sparta (Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 7. 1; *Ages.* 2. 20). Our inscription records their return to their old allies, accompanied by Korkyra and Kephallenia.

The following epitaph, found in the Kerameikos, may refer to these negotiations (*C. I. A.* ii. 1678; *Arch. Zeit.* 1871, p. 28; Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, 37).

Ἐνθάδε Θέρσανδρον καὶ Σιμύλον, ἄνδρε ποθεινὸν  
πατρίδι Κερκύραι, δέξατο γαῖα τάφῳ·  
πρέσβεις ἔλθόντας, κατὰ συντυχίαν δὲ θανόντας,  
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων δημοσίου κτέρισαν.

## 106.

**Alliance between Athens and Korkyra: B. C. 375-374.**

On a slab of marble found between the Theatre of Dionysos and the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. Στοιχηδόν. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xiii (1889), p. 354; Köhler, *C. I. A.* iv. (2), p. 14, no. 49 b; Michel, *Recueil*, 9; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 84; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 139, no. 143 (xxxvii) B. Comp. Swoboda, *Rh. Mus.* 49, pp. 339 foll.

Σύμμαχία Κορκυραίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων εἰς  
τὸν [ἀεὶ] χρόνον. Ἐάν τις ἴηι [ἐπὶ] πολέμῳ ε-  
[ἰ]ς τ[ῆ]ν χώραν τῆν Κορ[κ]υραίων ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆ-  
[μ]ον τὸν Κορκυραίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους π-  
5 ἀντὶ σθένει, καθ' ὅ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν Κο-  
ρκυραῖοι, κατὰ τὸ [δυνατόν] καὶ ἔάν τις ἐπ-  
ὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἐπὶ τῆν χώραν

τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἴη ἢ κατὰ γῆν]  
 ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, βοηθεῖν Κορκυραίων π[α]-  
 10 ντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, καθ' ὃ τι ἂν [ἐ]πα-  
 γγέλλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. π[ό]λ[ε]μ[ον] δὲ καὶ εἰ-  
 ρήνην μὴ ἐξεῖναι Κ[ορκυ]ραίοις ποιήσασ-  
 θαι [ἄ]νευ Ἀ[θηναίων] καὶ [τοῦ π]λήθους τῶν σ-  
 υμμάχων· ποιεῖν δὲ κα[τὰ] τᾶλλα κατὰ τὰ δόγ-  
 15 ματα τῶν συμμάχων. Ὅρκος·

*Oath of the Athenians [and the Allies?].*

Βοηθήσω Κορκυραίων τῶι [δῆ]μῳ παντὶ σθ-  
 10 ἐνει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ἕαν [τ]ις ἴη ἐπὶ πολ-  
 ἔμῳ ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θά[λα]τταν ἐπὶ τῆγ χ-  
 ὄραν τῆγ Κορκυραίων καθ' [ὃ] τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλ-  
 20 λωσι Κορκυραῖοι, καὶ περὶ πολέμου καὶ ε-  
 ἰρήνης πράξω καθ' ὃ τι ἂν τῶι πλήθει τῶν σ-  
 υμμάχων δοκῆι, καὶ τᾶλλα ποιήσω κατὰ [τὰ  
 δ]όγματα τῶν συμμάχων. [πο]ή[σω] ταῦτα νῆ τὸ-  
 [ν] Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα· [ε]ὐο-  
 25 [ρ]κοῦντι μέμ μοι εἶη πο[λλ]ὰ καὶ ἀγαθά, εἰ δὲ  
 μή,] τὰναντία.

*Korkyraian Oath.*

[Βοηθήσω Ἀθηναίων τῶι [δῆ]μῳ [παν]τὶ σθ[έ]νει  
 κατὰ τὸ δυ[ν]ατὸν αἶ κά τις [ἐ]πίη ἐπὶ πο-  
 30 λέμῳ ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ [θ]άλασσαν ἐπὶ τὰν  
 χῶραν τὰν Ἀθηναίων καθ' ὃ τι κ' ἐπαγγέλλω-  
 [ν]τι Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ περὶ πολέμ[ο]ν κ[αὶ] εἰρή-  
 [νης] πράξω καθ' ὃ τ[ι] κ[α] Ἀ[θηναίοι]ς κ[αὶ] [τῶι] π-  
 [λή]θει τῶν συμμάχων [δοκῆι] κ[αὶ] τᾶλλ[α] ποι-  
 [ή]σω κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν  
 35 [συμμάχων]· ποιήσω ταῦτα ν[αὶ] τὸν Δία [κα]ὶ  
 [τὸν] Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὰν Δάματρα· εὐορ[κ]έου-  
 [ν]τι μέμ μοι εἶη πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά, εἰ δὲ μή, [τὰ-  
 ναντία].

For the negotiations which led to this alliance, see the preceding inscription. The mention of possible enemies of the *demos* of the Korkyraians (where we should have expected simply ἐπὶ Κορκυραίων) is explained by the fact that Korkyra

was at this time divided by factions, of which the popular one was in power and made the alliance with Athens. The similar phrase in line 6 referring to the Athenians may be due to symmetry, or to the still lingering fear of the anti-democratic party. Cp. nos. 119, 123. But these are standing formulae in alliances.

## 107 [77].

## Alliance between Athens and Amyntas III: shortly before B. C. 370.

Two fragments found near the Dionysiac Theatre. Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. no. 15 b, pp. 397, 423; iv (2), p. 9; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 78. Comp. Swoboda, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, vii. pp. 36 foll.

. . . . . ἄνδρας οἷτ[ινες ἀπολήσονται τ-  
 οὺς] ὄρ[κους π]αρά Ἄμύ[ντου καὶ Ἄλεξάνδρου κ-  
 αὶ] ἐπιμελήσονται[ι τῆς ἀναγραφῆς καὶ  
 τῆς στήλης, ὅπως ἀ[ν τέλος ἔχη τὰ ἐψηφ-  
 5 ἰσ]μένα τῶι δήμωι· ἐ[π]αινέσαι δ[ὲ Ἄμύντ-  
 αν] καὶ τοὺς πρέσβε[ις] τοὺς ἐλθόντ[ας πα-  
 ρ'] αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖο[ν κ]αὶ Ἀ[ν]τήν(ο)ρα κ[αὶ . . .]-  
 σωνα· ἐπαινέσαι [δὲ κ]αὶ τοὺς πρέσβε[ις]  
 τοὺς πεμφθέν[τας ὑπ]ὸ τοῦ δήμου εἰς Μ[ακ]-  
 10 εδοῦναν περὶ τ[ῆς συ]μ(μ)αχίας· δοῦναι δ[ὲ]  
 το[ῖς] πρέσβεσ[ιν τοῖς] αἰρεθεῖσιν εἰ[ς]  
 [ἐφ]όδια ΔΔ δρ[αχμὰς ἐ]κάστωι τὸν ταμί[α-  
 ν τ]οῦ δήμου· κ[αὶ καλέσ]αι ἐπὶ ξένια τοῦ[ς]  
 πρέ[σβεις] [τοὺς παρ' Ἄμ]ύντου καὶ τοὺς π[ε-  
 15 μφθ]έντα[ς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου] ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς  
 [τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὖθ]ριον.

Appended in two columns were the names of those who swore to the treaty on the part of Athens and of Amyntas; only a fragment remains. . . . [Φύλα]ρχοι (or [Ἴππα]ρχοι)· | . . . . κληῖς Ἐρχι(εύς), | [Δημοχ]άρης Παια(υεύς). | [Ἄμύντα]ς Ἀρριδαίου |, [Ἀλέξανδ]ρος Ἄμύντου.

This alliance belongs to a somewhat later date than the treaty commemorated in no. 95, as is shown by the fact that Alexandros (the eldest son of Amyntas III, and afterwards king from 370-369 to 368 B. C.) was now old enough to

figure beside his father. Possibly the alliance belongs to the time of Timotheos' expedition to Thrace in B.C. 373. Swoboda suggests also that the Ptolemaios of our inscription is identical with the murderer of Alexandros II.

## 108 [84].

Honours from Athens to Dionysios I of Syrakuse:  
B. C. 369-368.

Στοιχηδόν. *C. I. G.* 85 b and c (i. pp. 897, 899), from a copy by Fauvel, when the stone was better preserved. *C. I. A.* ii. 51; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 89; Michel, *Recueil*, 90. Comp. Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i. pp. 13 foll.; W. Hartel, *Demosth. Stud. (Wiener Sitzungsber. lxxxviii.* 1878, pp. 409 foll.); Höck, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1883, pp. 516 foll.; A. Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 221; Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, iv. p. 204; A. Wilhelm, *Eranos Vindob.* p. 245, note 3; R. Schöll, *Münch. Sitzungsber.* 1886, 123<sup>2</sup>.

[Ἐπὶ Λ]υσιστράτου ἀρχοντος, ἐπὶ [τῆ]ς Ἐ[ρεχ-  
θηίδ]ος δεκάτης προτανείας [ἦ]ι Ἐξή[κε-  
στος Πα]ι[ωνίδου] Ἀζηνιεύς ἐγραμμάτε[υεν]  
τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή[φι]ζε Εὐάγγελ[ος] . .

5 *line obliterated.*

. Πάν]διος εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ π-  
αρά] Διονυσίου ἤκου[τε]ς λέγουσι[ν], δεδ[όχθ]-  
αι τῆ]ι βουλῆ· περὶ μὲν τῶν γραμματ[ων] ὧ-  
ν ἔπε]υψεν Διονύσιος τῆ]ς οἰκ[οδομ]ίας τ-  
10 οὔ]ν νε]ῶ καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τοὺς συμμαχ[ους] δ-  
όγμ]α ἐξενε[γ]κε[ῖ]ν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὃ [τι ἂν α-  
ύτο]ῖς βουλευομένοις δοκῆι ἀρι[στον ε-  
ῖνα]ι· προσαγαγεῖν δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις [εἰς  
τὸν] δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρώτη[ν] ἐκκλησί[αν] πρ-  
15 οσκ]αλέσαντας τοὺς συμμαχ[ους] [τοὺς πρ-  
οέδ]ρους, [κα]ὶ χρηματίζειν περὶ ὧν λ[έγουσ]-  
ιν, γ[νώμ]η]ν δ[ε] ξ[υ]μβάλλουσ[θ]αι τῆς β[ουλῆ]ς  
ἐς τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆ]ι βουλ[ῆ]· ἐπαι-  
νέσ]αι μὲν Διονύσιον τῶ]ν Σικελ[ίας] ἀρχ-  
20 οντ]α κ[α]ὶ τοὺς ἕεις τοὺς [Δι]ονυσίου, Διο-  
νύ]σιο[ν] καὶ Ἐρμόκριτον, ὅτι εἰ[σ]ὶν ἄνδρ-  
ες] ἀγαθοὶ [περὶ] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀ[θηναίων]  
καὶ] τοὺς συμμαχ[ους] καὶ βοηθο[ῦ]σιν τῆ]

βασ]ιλέως εἰρήνην ἦν ἐπόησα[ντο Ἴθηνα-  
 25 ἴοι] καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιο[ι] κ[α]λὶ [οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλ-  
 ληνες]· καὶ Διονυσίω μὲν ἀπο[πέμψαι τὸ-  
 ν στέφ]αυον δὲν ἐψηφίστατο ὁ δῆμος, στεφα-  
 νῶσαι δὲ τοὺς] ὑεῖς τοὺς Διονυσί[ου χρυσῶ-  
 ι στεφάνω]ι ἐ[κ]άτερον ἀπὸ χ[ιλίων δραχμ]-  
 30 ῶν ἀνδραγαθί]ας [ἐ]νε[κα κ]αὶ [φιλίας· εἴνα-  
 ι δὲ Διονύσι]ον καὶ το[ῦ]ς ὑε[ῖς αὐτοῦ Ἴθηνα-  
 αῖους αὐτοὺς] καὶ ἐκγόνους, [καὶ φυλῆς κα-  
 λὶ δῆμον καὶ φ]ρατρίας ἧ[s] ἀν [βούλωνται. τοῦ]-  
 s δὲ πρυτάνε]ις [τοῦ]ς [τ]ῆ[s] Ἐρεχθίδος δοῦ-  
 35 ναι τὴν ψῆφον πε]ρὶ α[ὐτῶν - - -

Dionysios the elder had all along been a faithful, though not very active, ally of Sparta (see Lysias, xix. *de bonis Ar.* § 20; Xen. *Hellen.* v. 1. 26-28; Diod. xv. 23. 47; Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 2. 4. 33; Diod. xvi. 57). The attempt made by Athens in B. C. 394-393 (no. 91) to win Dionysios to their side had not been at all successful. But after the important congress of B. C. 371 (Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 3), when Athens and Sparta became allied against Thebes, Dionysios was reconciled to Athens (Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 1. 20. 28; Diod. xv. 70); and at the Lenaia B. C. 367 he gained the first prize for his Tragedy *Λύτρα* Ἐκτορος, having previously stood second and third (Clinton, *F. H. ad ann.*). This decree and the next following make an important addition to our scanty knowledge of the transactions briefly spoken of by Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 1. 27-28; Diod. xv. 70 (cp. Grote, ch. 79; Holm, iii. ch. 9). The second expedition of Epameinondas into the Peloponnese took place in B. C. 369, when the Spartans received assistance not only from the Athenians but also from Dionysios. Probably the crown mentioned in l. 27 was voted at that time. The decree before us was passed in the early summer of B. C. 368. At this same season Ariobarzanes' envoy Philiskos, acting in the name of the Great King, on the strength of the peace of Antalkidas, convened the congress at Delphoi with a view to a general peace, perhaps at the suggestion of Athens (Grote and Holm, *ibid.*). Little or nothing came of it, as the Spartans stoutly demanded that they should have Messene restored to them. Xenophon names the

Athenians and Spartans, and their allies, and the Thebans, as represented at the congress, but says nothing of Dionysios. It is clear, however, from this decree that he was an important agent in these proceedings. Without believing the statement of Ephoros (quoted by the Schol. on Aristeides, *Panath.* 177. 20—who confuses Dionysios I and II) that Dionysios was in league with the Persians against the liberties of Greece—which represents the diplomatic gossip of the time—we may yet believe that he was very willing to enlarge his own influence by acting with the Persians as a mediator between the contending Greek states.

The following points in the decree require comment. Line 2 : for the secretary's name cp. *C. I. A.* iv (2), 768 b (A), line 18. Line 5 foll. ; Dionysios was sending envoys to the Delphian congress ; he also sends envoys and a letter to Athens, recommending peace. The temple referred to is that of Apollo at Delphoi, which is generally supposed to have been destroyed by earthquake in 373 B. C. (See, however, Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.*, 1896, pp. 691 foll.) Just as it was a foremost provision of the treaties of 423 and 421 B. C. (Thuk. iv. 118, v. 18) that the Delphian temple should be neutral, so here in the negotiations for a general peace, it seems to be suggested that each state shall contribute to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphoi, as a pledge of *bona fides* in the movement for peace ; cp. too Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 4. 2. Lines 9–16 : the synod of the allies convened at Athens is to consider Dionysios' suggestions, and report thereon to the δῆμος. The βουλή further frames this προβούλευμα to be submitted to the δῆμος without delay, the deputies of the allies and the envoys of Dionysios being also invited to the ἐκκλησία. (For a discussion of the procedure see von Hartel and Höck *loc. cit.*) Lines 16 foll. : the Athenians praise Dionysios for his zeal in maintaining the provisions of the peace of Antalkidas (τῆ βασιλέως εἰρήνῃ), and grant him and his sons the freedom of their city (cp. Demosth. xii. *Phil. Epist.* 10). The decree of the people, approving this προβούλευμα, is lost, if indeed it was ever inscribed ; but unless a probouleuma was amended, there was no need to inscribe the decree confirming it.

## 109 [85].

Honours to Mytilene for fidelity to Athens: B. C. 369-368  
and 368-367.

Kumanudes, 'Αθην. v. p. 94; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. pp. 400 foll., no. 52 c; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*?, 91; Michel, *Recueil*, 89. Comp. Höck, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1878, pp. 474 foll.; Szanto, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xiv (1889), p. 147; Schöll, *Der Process des Pheidias* (Münch. Sitzungsber. 1888), p. 46, note 1; Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 272; Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1898, p. 220.

§ A. Decree of the council and people, B. C. 368:—

[Θ]εοί.

[Μυτ]ιληναίων.

[Ναυσιγ]ένης ἤρχεν, Αἰαντὶς ἐπρυ-

[τάρευε]ν, Μόσχος Κυδαθηναίεὺς ἐ-

5 [γραμμά]τευν, Ἀρίστυλλος Ἐρχι[ε]-  
ὺς ἐπεστ]άτει.

[Ἐδο]ξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ·

Σ[τ]έφα[νο]ς [ε]ἶπεν· [π]ερὶ ὧν οἱ πρόσβεις οἱ ἐχ Λέσβου ἤκου-  
τ[ε]ς] λέ-

[γο]υσιν, [ἐ]ψηφ]ίσθαι τῆι βουλῆι, προσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν δῆ-  
10 [μον τοὺς] προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρώ[τη]-  
ν ἐκκλησίαν, γνώμην δὲ ξυββάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς [τὸν]  
δ[ῆμο]-

ν ὅτι δοκῆι τῆι βουλῆι, ἐπ[ε]ιδὴ Μυτιληναῖοι ἄνδρες [ἀγαθοί ε]-  
[σι] π[ε]ρ[ὶ] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων κα[ὶ] νῦν] κ[α]ὶ [ε]ἴν] τῶι πρό-  
σθεν χ-

ρόνωι], ἐ[π]α[ι]νέσαι τὸν δῆμον τὸμ Μυτιληναίων ἀρε[τ]ῆς [νεκ]α  
[π]-

15 ἐρὶ τὸν δῆμον] τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ εἶναι πρόσο[δον] αὐτοῖς ἐάν του  
δέωνται πρὸς τῆ[ν] βουλῆν ἢ τὸν δῆμον πρῶ[τοις] μετ[ὰ] τὰ [ε]ρ[ά]-  
ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ Ἱερο[ί]ταν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀ[ν]ήρ ἀγαθὸς περ[ὶ] τ[ὸ]ν  
δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν Μυτ[ι]ληναίων, ἀναγράψαι δ[ὲ]  
τ]ὸδ-

[ε τὸ ψ]ή[φ]ι[σ]μα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς [βου]λ[ῆ]ς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ-  
20 [ι καὶ σ]τῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει. [ἀ]ναγράψαι δὲ κ[αὶ] τ[ὸ] ψήφ[ι]-  
[σ]μα ε-

[ἰς τὴν ἀϋτὴν στήλην ὃ ἀπε[κρ]ίνατο ὁ δῆμος τοῖς πρέσβεσι  
 [τοῖς Μυτιληναίων] το[ῖς] μετὰ [Ἰε]ροίτ[α (viz. the decree  
 appended below.) εἰ]ς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφ-  
 [ῆν δοῦναι τῆς στή]λης [τ]ὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τῶι γραμματεῖ τ-  
 [ῆς βου]λῆς ΔΔ δραχμάς. ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς  
 25 [πεμφ]θέντας εἰς Μυτιλήνην καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ δειπνον εἰς  
 [τὸ πρυ]τανεῖον εἰς αὔριον. καλέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς συνέδρο[υ]-  
 [ς τοὺς] Μυτιληναίων ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυταν[ε]ῖον εἰς αὔ[ρ]-  
 [ιον. κ]αλέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους τῶι Μηθυμναίων  
 [καὶ Ἄ]ντισσαίων καὶ Ἐρεσίων καὶ Πυρ[ρ]αίων ἐπὶ ξ[έ]νια  
 30 εἰς τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.

§ B. *Rider moved by Autolykos*:—

Αὐτόλυκος εἶπεν· τὰ μὲ[ν]  
 ἄλλ[α] καθ[ά]περ τῆι βουλῆι· ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις  
 [τοὺς] πεμφθέντας εἰς Λέσσβον Τιμόνο(θ)ον καὶ Αὐτόλυκ-  
 [ον καὶ Ἄ]ρ[ι]στοπέιθην καὶ καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δειπνον εἰ-  
 [ς τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.

§ C. *Decree of the year before, appended as ordered above*:—

35 [Ἐπὶ Λυ]σιστράτου ἄρχοντος· ἔδοξεν τῆ[ι]  
 βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Καλλίστρατος [εἶ]-  
 [πεν· ἐπα]ινεῖσαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸμ Μυτι[ιλ]-  
 [ηναίω]ν ὅτι καλῶς καὶ προθύμως συν[ν]διε-  
 [πολέμη]σαν τὸμ πόλεμον τὸν παρελθ[όν]-  
 40 α, ἀποκρί[ν]ασθαι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσι[ν τοῖ]-  
 [ς ἦκουσι] ὅτ[ι] Ἄ[θ]η[ν]αῖοι ἐπολέμησαν [ὑπ]-  
 [ὲρ τῆς ἐλε]ν[θ]ερ[ί]ας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κα[ὶ] ἐπε-  
 [ιδῆ] Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεστράτευσ[αν] Ἄθ-  
 [ηναίοις παρὰ τ]οὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰ[ς] συν-  
 45 θήκας, αὐτοὶ τε] ἐβοήθουν καὶ τοὺς [ἄλλ]ο-  
 [υς συμμάχ]ο[υς] παρεκάλεσαν βοηθ[εῖν τῆ]-  
 [ν καθήκου]σαν Ἀθηναίοις βοήθει[αν, πει]-  
 [θόμενοι] τοῖς ὄρκοις, ἐπὶ το[ῖς] π[αραβαλ]-  
 [οντας τὰς] σπονδάς, ἀξιούσιν δὲ [. . . : . . .  
 50 . . . . . ἐν] τῶι πρόσθεν χρόνωι ν . . .  
 . . . . . αἰ τῶι δήμωι τῶι Μυτι[ιλ]-  
 [ηναίων καὶ τῶι] δήμωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων . .  
 - - - -



Mytilene was one of the first to join the new confederacy in B. C. 378 (see no. 101); the particular services referred to in the *appended decree*, § C, are not known, but probably Lesbian ships had helped Chabrias at the battle of Naxos in B. C. 376, and accompanied Timotheos in his Aegaeon cruise the following year. (Yet in this case the thanks would be somewhat late. Judeich refers it to an expedition by Iphikrates in B. C. 369-368 against Samos.) Doubtless Mytilene shared the growing hopes of further maritime supremacy for Athens (Grote, ch. 79): but more than this we cannot say towards connecting our inscription with the history of the time. The restoration of the latter part of § C is highly conjectural. Dittenberger is followed in the main. Stephanos, the mover of the first decree, was the husband of Neaira ([Dem.] lix. 43, where his connexion with Kallistratos, the mover of the decree of B. C. 369-368, is mentioned). See also no. 139. The name Hieroitias is well-known in Lesbos (Wilhelm, *Arch.-epigr. Mittheil. aus Oest.*, xv. p. 8). The *σύνεδροι* are the deputies of the cities in the league, sent to the synod at Athens. The more important states, such as Mytilene, as it appears from this inscription, had more than one representative; the rank and file had but one (see Höck, *loc. cit.*). In § B the mover was perhaps a near kinsman of his namesake the envoy.

## 110 [86].

## Negotiations between the Athenians and Leukadians :

## B. C. 368.

Στοιχῆδόν. The text from Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. p. 400, no. 52 b. The additions in ll. 10 f. are suggested by Wilhelm; OP is plain at the end of l. 11.

*The beginning is lost; the end of a treaty remains:—*

-----

ης' ἐπάρχω Νικη . . . . .  
 κληῆς' στρατηγός Φορμ[ίων],  
 Σπουδίας. Λευκαδίων οἶδε ὦ-  
 (ω)ρκωσαν' Ἰσόδημος, Ὀλυμπι-  
 5 άδας.

*Beginning of a fresh decree, dated:—*

[Ε]πὶ Ναυσιγένους ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκρ-  
 [οπίδο]ς πρώτης πρυτανείας· Μησιβούλο-  
 [ς . . . . . ἐ]γγραμμάτευε, Φίλιππος Εἰρ[ε-  
 σίδης ἐπεστάται, ὁ δεῖνα εἶ]πεν· περ[ὶ  
 10 ὧν οἱ πρόσβεις λέγουσιν, ἐψηφίσθ]αι τῶι  
 [δήμωι - - - - - τ]οὺς ὄρ-  
 [κους? - -]

The Leukadians were allied with Sparta in 373 B. C. in the expedition against Korkyra (Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 2, 3, 26). No peace or treaty between the Athenians and Leukadians is mentioned by the historians: but as Zakynthos and Kephallenia were already enrolled in the Athenian alliance (no. 101), possibly Leukas also followed them, especially when, after the battle of Leuktra (B. C. 371), the hopes of Athens rose higher than before (Grote, ch. 79).

### 111 [87].

**Honours from Athens to Straton, king of Sidon:**

**B. C. 370-362.**

Στοιχηδόν. Found on the Akropolis; now at Oxford, where it has been collated afresh. The top only is imperfect. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 87; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 86; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 118; Michel, *Recueil*, 93. Comp. von Hartel, *Attisches Staatsr.* p. 223 (*Wiener Sitzungsber.* 1879, xcii. pp. 132 foll.); Clerc, *Mémoires Ath.* pp. 251 foll.; H. Schenkl, *Wiener Studien*, 1880, p. 189.

-----  
 ν] Ἀθηναί[ων κ]αὶ ἐπεμελ[ήθη] ὅπως ὡς  
 κάλλιστα πορευθήσονται οἱ πρόσ-  
 βεις ὡς βασιλέα οὗς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεμψ-  
 ευν' καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι τῶι ἥκοντι π-  
 5 ἀρὰ τοῦ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως ὅτι καὶ  
 ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὧν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθ-  
 ὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων οὐ-  
 κ ἔστι ὅτι ἀτυχῆσει παρὰ Ἀθηναίω-  
 ν ὧν ἂν δέχεται· εἶναι δὲ καὶ πρόξεν-  
 10 ον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Στράτω-  
 να τὸν Σιδῶνος βασιλέα καὶ αὐτὸν

καὶ ἐκγόνους· τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τὸδε ἀν-  
 αγραψάτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς  
 ἐ' στήλῃ λιθίνῃ δέκα ἡμερῶν καὶ  
 15 καταθέτω ἐν ἄκροπόλει, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀ-  
 ναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τοὺς  
 ταμίαις τῶι γραμματεῖ τῆς βουλῆς Δ  
 ΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων· π-  
 οιησάσθω δὲ καὶ σύμβολα ἢ βουλή πρ-  
 20 ὄς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Σιδωνίων ὅπως  
 ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων εἰδῆι ἕάν τι  
 πέμπῃ ὁ Σιδωνίων βασιλεὺς δεόμ-  
 ενος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σ-  
 ιδωνίων εἰδῆι ὅταμ πέμπῃ τινὰ ὦ-  
 25 σ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων· καλέσα-  
 ι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν ἤκοντα παρὰ  
 τοῦ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως ἐς τὸ πρυταν-  
 εῖον ἐς αὔριον.

*Rider proposed by Menexenos:—*

Μενέξενος εἶπεν· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά-  
 30 περ Κηφισόδοτος· ὅπόσοι δ' ἂν Σιδω-  
 νίων οἰκοῦντες ἐς Σιδῶνι καὶ πολι-  
 τευόμενοι ἐπιδημῶσι κατ' ἐμπορ-  
 ῖαν Ἀθήνησι, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοὺς μετ-  
 οίκιον πράττεσθαι μηδὲ χορηγὸν  
 35 μηδένα καταστήσαι μηδ' εἰσφορὰν  
 μηδεμίαν ἐπιγράφειν.

The preamble of the decree, of which only a few words are preserved in lines 1–3, probably dealt with honours voted to Straton for his various services, and his kindness in helping forward the Athenian envoys, who had come to him at Sidon, in proceeding yet further to the Persian court (ὡς βασιλέα, line 3). In line 1, a paper impression, due to the kindness of Prof. Percy Gardner, shows AI before ἐπεμελήθη, confirming the conjecture Ἀθηναίων καὶ made independently by Wilhelm. As Straton is throughout called ὁ Σιδωνίων β., or ὁ Σιδωνίων β., we may construe ὡς βασιλέα in its usual sense, and make the subject of ἐπεμελήθη Straton himself. Straton was famous in

antiquity for his luxurious court, as we know from Theopompos and Anaximenes, quoted in Athen. xii. 531: *Οἷα γὰρ τοὺς Φαίακας Ὅμηρος ποιεῖν μεμυθολόγηκεν ἐορτάζοντας καὶ πίνοντας καὶ κιθαρωδῶν καὶ ῥαψωδῶν ἀκρωμένους, τοιαῦτα καὶ ὁ Στράτων διετελεῖ ποιῶν πολλὴν χρόνον - - - ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν Νικοκλέα φιλοτιμούμενος - - - οἷγε προῆλθον εἰς τοσαύτην ἄμιλλαν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν, ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων τὰς τε παρασκευὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν κ.τ.λ. ἐφιλονεῖκου ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀλλήλους . . . οὐ μὴν περὶ γε τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν διητυχῆσαν, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέροι βιαίῳ θανάτῳ διεφθάρησαν.* This Nikokles was prince of Kypros and the son of Euagoras—see nos. 92 and (1st ed.) 136. Both Straton and Nikokles were of course only subject-kings under the Persian government (cp. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 2). Straton took part in the great revolt of the Satraps and perished in B.C. 362: see Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, p. clxxxiii, citing S. Jerome *adv. Jovinian.*, i. 45. By *σύμβολα* (in line 19) are meant *tesserae hospitales*, i. e. practically, in the case of ambassadors, credentials. For Menexenos cp. no. 118. Kephisodotos (l. 30) is doubtless the well-known orator who is named by Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 3. 2; vii. 1. 14; he was one of the *σύνδικοι* in the defence of Leptines. (See *Comm.* on Dem. *adv. Lept.*, which will also explain the exemption from *εἰσφορά* and *χορηγία*, &c.) There must always have been a certain number of Sidonian merchants residing at Athens and the Peiraieus: many tombstones of Sidonians are published in *C. I. A.* ii. 2836, 3316, &c. Any one merely calling at Athens in the course of trade would not be liable for the alien's tax; but should he stay over a certain time (the limit of which is unknown to us), he might become liable, and this rider secures Sidonians immunity from the tax in such a case. In line 17 the *ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ* are meant: see no. 101, § 5, where also we find *ἐκ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων*. The nature of this fund, which was probably a grant from the treasury of the goddess, and is only met with about this time, is discussed at length by Panske, *de Magistr.* . . . *qui pec. publ. curabant* (Leipziger Studien, 1890), pp. 26 foll.

## 112 [88].

## Alliance between Athens and Dionysios I: B. C. 368-367.

Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 52; cp. *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, i. pp. 13 foll., and preceding decrees nos. 91, 108. Kirchoff, *Philol.* xii. pp. 571 sqq.; v. Hartel, *Stud. über att. Staatsr.* pp. 104 foll. (*Wiener Sitzungsber.* 1878, xci. pp. 120 foll.); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 90; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 152, no. 159 (xl). See Beloch, *L'impero di Dionisio* (*Mem. della R. Accad. d. Lincei*, vii. 1881), p. 235; Schäfer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*, i<sup>2</sup>. 91; Freeman, *Hist. Sic.* iv. 204.

Ἐπὶ Ναυσιγέν]ους ἄρχ[ουτος, ἐπὶ τῆς Αλαυτί-  
δος ἐβδόμης π]ρυταν[είας, Μόσχος Κυδαθην-  
αιεύς ἐγραμ]μάτευε, [δευτέραι καὶ τριακο-  
στῆι τῆς πρυ]τανεία[s, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή-  
5 φιζε . . . . .]s Ἀλίππου [. . . . .: ἔδοξε τῶι δήμ-  
ωι . . .]δ[ιος] εἶπεν· [τύ]χ[ηι ἀγαθῆι τῆι Ἄθην-  
αίων, δε]δ[όχθ]αι τῶι δήμ[ωι ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Δ-  
ιονύσι]ο[v τ]ὸν Σικελία[s ἄρχοντα, ὅτι ἐστι-  
ν ἀνῆρ ἀ]γ[α]θὸς περὶ τὸν [δῆμον τὸν Ἄθηναίω-  
10 ν καὶ τ]οὺς συμμάχους· εἶ[ναι δὲ συμμάχους αὐ-  
τὸν κα]ὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους [τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἄθην-  
αίων ἐ]s [τ]ὸν αἰὲ χρόνον [ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· ἕάν τις  
ἴη ἐπὶ τ]ῆν χώραν τῆν Ἄ[θηναίων ἐπὶ πολέμ-  
ωι ἢ κατ]ὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλα[ατταν, βοηθεῖν Διο-  
15 νύσιον] καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόν[ους αὐτοῦ καθότι ἂν  
ἐπαγγέ]λλωσιν Ἄθην[αῖοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ  
κατὰ θάλα]ατταν παντ[ὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνα-  
τόν· καὶ] ἕάν τις ἴη ἐπὶ Διονύσιον ἢ τοὺς ἐ-  
κγόνου]s αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅσων ἄ[ρχει Διονύσιος ἐπὶ  
20 πολέμω]ι ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κ[ατὰ θάλατταν, βοηθε-  
ῖν Ἄθην]αίους καθότι ἂ[ν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν κα-  
ὶ κατὰ γ]ῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλα[ατταν παντὶ σθένει-  
κατὰ τ]ὸ [δυ]νατόν· ὅπλα [δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐπι-  
φέρειν] Δ[ιο]νυσίωι μηδ[ὲ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐ-  
25 τοῦ ἐπὶ] τ[ῆ]ν χώραν τῆν Ἄ[θηναίων ἐπὶ πημον-  
ῆι μήτε] κ[ατ]ὰ γῆν μήτε κ[ατὰ θάλατταν· μηδὲ  
Ἄθηναι]ο[ι]s ἐξεῖναι ὅπ[λα ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ  
Διονύ]σι[ο]ν μηδὲ τοῦ(s) ἐκ[γόνους αὐτοῦ μηδὲ  
ὅσων ἄ]ρχ[ε]ι Διονύσιος [ἐπὶ πημονῆι μήτε κ-  
30 ατὰ γῆν] μ[ή]τε κατὰ θάλα[ατταν. λαβεῖν δὲ τὸν

ὄρκον τ]δ[μ] περὶ τῆς συμ[μαχίας τοὺς πρέσβ-  
 εις τοῦ]ς παρὰ Διονυσίου ἦκοντας, ὁμόσαι  
 δὲ τῆν τε] βουλήν καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τ-  
 οὺς ἱππάρ]ρχους καὶ τοῦ]ς ταξιάρχους· ὁμόσα-  
 35 ι δὲ Διο]νύσιον καὶ τοῦ]ς ὑεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν  
 βουλήν τ]ῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ τ . . . . .  
 τοὺς φρου]ράρχους· ὁμνύ[ναι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκα-  
 στον (?) ἕκα]τέρους τοῦ]ς ὄρκους· ἀπολαβεῖν δὲ  
 Ἄθηναι]ων τοὺς πρέσβ[εις τοὺς πεμφθέντας ἐ-  
 40 σ Σικελί]αν. ἀναγράψ[αι δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφισμα  
 τὸν γραμ]ματέα τῆς [βουλῆς - -

The restorations are easily made in accordance with the usual formulas of treaties. With lines 30 foll., which prescribe the manner of taking the oaths on either side, compare the similar provisions in Thuk. v. 47. The restoration of the last few lines is pretty certain as to the general sense, though particular words may be doubtful. In line 37 φρου]ράρχους is due to Kirchhoff, approved by Beloch (*L'impero di Dionisio, Memorie dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, vii. 1881, p. 235). The phrurarchs came next to the nauarchs, and commanded in the tyrant's strongholds. For the end of line 37, Dittenberger suggests ὁμνύ[ναι δὲ τριάκοντα ἡμ]ερῶν ἕκα]τέρους. The relations between Dionysios and Athens have been described in nos. 91, 108: this alliance with Athens (which is nowhere else recorded) was one of the last acts of his life, for he died towards the middle of B. C. 367.

## 113 [89].

## Relations between Athens and Sparta: B. C. 367.

Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 50; iv (2), p. 15; Michel, *Recueil*, 92; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 92.

Ἐπὶ Ναυσιγένους ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰα[ντίδος ἐ]-  
 βδόμης πρυτανείας· Μόσχος Θεοστίου Κ[υ]δ[αθηναεὺς]  
 ἐγραμμ[άτε]υε· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶ]ι δήμωι· Αἰ]-  
 αντὶς [ἐπ]ουτάνευε· Παράμυθος Ὀτρυν[εὺς ἐπεστάτ]-  
 5 ει· Μόσχος Θεοστίου Κυδαθηνα[εὺς] ἐγ[ραμμάτε]υεν·  
 (Δ)ιόφαντος εἶπεν· π[ερ]ὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβει]ς ἀπαγγέλ-

λ]ουσιν οἱ ἐγ Λακεδαίμονος ἦκουτες, [ἐψηφίσθαι]  
 τῆι βουλῆι τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν [τ]υγχά[νωσι προεδρ]-  
 εύουτες ἐν τῶι δήμωι χρη[μα]τ[ῆ]σαι περὶ αὐτῶν, γν]-  
 10 ὡμην δὲ ξυμβάλλ[εσθαι] τῆς βουλῆς εἴς τὸν δῆμον, δ]-  
 τι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλ[ῆ]ι, ἐπειδὴ Κ[όρ]ο[ι]β[ος] ὁ [Λακεδαίμ]-  
 ὄνιος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθ[ός] ἐστίν] περὶ [τ]ὸν [δῆ]μ[ον] τὸν Ἀθην]-  
 αίων καὶ νῦν κα(λ) ἔ[ν] τῶι πρ[ό]σ[θεν] χρ[ό]ν[ω]ι, εἶναι αὐτῶ]-  
 15 ν πρόξενον καὶ εὐ[εργέ]την [τ]οῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου κα]-  
 ἰ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνου[ς]. τὸ δὲ [ψήφισμα τότε ἀναγραφ]-  
 ἄτω ὁ [γ]ραμματεὺς τῆς βουλ[ῆ]ς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ κ]-  
 αὶ στ[η]σάτω ἐν ἀκροπόλῃ[ι]. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὁ  
 ταμ[ί]α[ς] τοῦ δήμου δότω [Δ]Δ δ[ραχμὰς] ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ  
 ψ[η]φίσματα ἀνα(λ)ισκ[ο]μέ[νων].

An alliance between Athens and Sparta was concluded in  
 B. C. 369 (see Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 1. 1-14; Grote, ch. 79; Holm, iii.  
 ch. 9). We cannot say what was the object of the mission of  
 Spartan envoys mentioned in this decree, which belongs to the  
 month of February 367; but it is noteworthy that this same  
 prytany saw an alliance made between Athens and Dionysios.  
 As Dionysios was a close friend of Sparta, this probably  
 involved further negotiations between the two states.

## 114 [90].

**Samos taken and occupied by Attic Kleruchs :**

**B. C. 365.**

**List of Treasures in the Heraion: B. C. 346-345.**

C. Curtius, *Inscripfien und Studien zur Gesch. von Samos*, Lübeck, 1877, pp. 10  
 foll.; Köhler, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* vii (1882), pp. 367 foll.; Swoboda,  
*Wiener Studien*, x (1888), pp. 284 foll.; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 220; Michel,  
*Recueil*, 832. The original is still at Samos, built into a farm-yard wall.

[Ἐπ]ὶ Πεισιλέω ἄρχοντος ἐν Σάμωι, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀρχίου  
 ἄ[ρχον]τος· παρέλαβον οἱ ταμίαι Φίλτων Λαμπ(τεύς), Διονύσιος  
 Κολλυ(τεύς), Βλέ[πυ]ρος Π[α]ια(νιεύς), Φιλοκλῆς Φρεάρ(ριος),  
 Εὐξενος Θορί(κιος), Θεοκλῆς Ἀχαρ(νεύς), Θεόφιλ[ος] . . . . .],  
 Θέωρος Ἐλευ(σίγιος), Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀναφλ(ύστιος) παρὰ

- 5 ταμιῶν τῶν ἐ[πὶ] || Θεο[κλέους] ἄρχοντος ἐν Σάμῳ, Ἀθήνησι δὲ  
 Θεμιστοκλέους, [Σω|σθέν]ους Εὐώ(νυμέως), Ἀγνοκράτους  
 Ἀλ[αι](έως), Ἀλκίου Πρασι(έως), Φιλοστράτου ἐ[ξ] Οἴ(ου), |  
 Ἀριστάρχου Ἀγνου(σίου), Ἀγασίου Ἀχαρ(νέως), Ρ[αι]δίου  
 Μελι(τέως), Ἀντιφῶντος Ἐλε[ν]σι(νίου), Καλλιμάχου Ἀφιδ-  
 (ναίου), Ἀμφικλέους Αἰγι(λιέως), ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος δε[ν]-  
 10 προέδ[ρ]||ω ἐπεψήφισε Φαίνιππος Κήττι(ος), συμπρόεδροι Φιλό-  
 στρατος Κηφι(σιεύς), Χ[αι]ρεφάνης Ἀλαι(εύς), Λύσανδρος Στειρι-  
 (εύς), Διότιμος Ἀχαρ(νεύς), Φόρος Μελι(τεύς), Θεός[ε]ν[ος]  
 Ἐλευ(σίσιος), Παρμουίδης Τρικο(ρύσιος), Τιμαίετος Αἰγι(λιεύς).  
 Κόσμος τῆς θεοῦ· κιθῶ[ν] Λύδιος ἔξαστιν ἔχων ἰσ[ά]τιδος, Διο-  
 γένης ἀνέθηκε· κιθῶν Λύδιος ἔξαστιν ὑακινθίνην ἔχων· κιθῶν  
 15 Λύδιος ἔξαστιν ὑακινθίνην ἔχ[ω]||ν· κιθῶν Λύδιος ἔξαστιν ἀλορ-  
 γῆν ἔχων· κιθωνίσκος λινοῦς ἔξαστι[ν] | ἀλοργῆν ἔχων· κιθῶν  
 κατάστικτος· κιθῶν Λύδιος ἔξαστιν λευκὴν [ἔ]||χων· μίτρη λιτῆ  
 στυππέϊου· κιθωνίσκος χρυσῶι πεποικιλμένος μύρ|του χρύσειον  
 ἔχων· περίβλημα λίνου ῥάκινον· μίτρη πάραυλος, ταύτη[ν] | ἦ  
 θεὸς ἔχει· παράλασσις Ἴριν ἐμ μέσῳ ἔχει ἀλοργῆν· σινδῶν λῖς  
 20 ἦντινα || [τ]ῆι θεῶι παραπιτυῶσι κ.τ.λ.  
 38 Ἐν τῶι μεγάλῳ νειῶι ὅσα ἐν [τ]ο[ῖ]ς μέρεσιν ἀνερίγνωσκεν ἐκ  
 τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ σε[ρ]σημασμένον, καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς τῆς θεοῦ Πελύσιος  
 40 ἀπέφαινεν ὄντα πλὴν τῶν[δ]ε, τῶ||ν ἐνέλειπ[εν]· Σκάφης χαλκῆς,  
 ταύτην [ἔ]φ[α]σαν θεσμοθέτας ἔχειν· ἀνδριαντίσκω(ν) | ἐκ τοῦ  
 ὠιδείου: Δ||: ἰππίσκος χαλκοῦς:

Then follow the minutes of the adjourned meeting on the seventeenth day of the prytany (lines 42-55); this again is followed by minutes of a meeting in the fifth prytany. The long adjournment was probably only due to accident, and in ordinary years we may suppose that the list was drawn up and checked early in the official year.

For Timotheos' successes, and especially his conquest of Samos, see Isokrates, xv. *de perm.* 107 foll. In spite of the engagement so explicitly given in no. 101, the Athenians proceeded to send out kleruchs: and though Samos was not a member of the Athenian league, but (since the Peace of Antalkidas) had been gradually brought under Persian dominion, yet none the less the Samian κληρουχία gave great offence to Greece. The first colonists were doubtless sent at once in B.C. 365, and



further detachments followed in 361 and 352 B.C. (Grote, ch. 79; Curtius, *Hist. Gr.* v. p. 95; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 274, note 2). The native Samians appear to have been entirely banished (see ed. I, no. 135), and so large was the efflux from Athens to Samos, that Demades is quoted by Athen. (p. 99 D) as saying: τὴν μὲν Αἴγιαν εἶναι λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς, τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἀπορρῶγα τῆς πόλεως ('off-shoot,' perhaps also with the sense of being a drain on the city). The father of Epikuros was one of these Samian colonists, and the childhood of the philosopher was spent there: he came to Athens at eighteen (Diog. Laert. x. 1. 1). The temple of Hera at Samos, a temple well known from Herodotos, was comparable with Delphoi and Olympia for its collection of works of art. The portion of the list given here enumerates the κόσμος τῆς θεοῦ (her 'toilet'). Then follows a statement of the articles missing from the treasury ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ νεύῳ; the remainder is certified to be in the treasury, the sealed inventory having been read out and the ἱερός (a temple-slave?) of the goddess having declared that the articles were in their places. Pelysios is a Samian name (B. V. Head, *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Greek Coins, Ionia*, p. 365, no. 170—a bronze coin of the third or second century B. C.). The dialect is Attic with an Ionic admixture, e. g. κισῶν (χισῶν); the Attic treasurers retained the spelling of the previous Samian registers. The heading reveals to us how completely the κληρουχία was a microcosm of Athens itself: here are archon, prytanies, πρόεδροι, ταμίαι, and the other details of the Athenian system. It is evident that one of the ταμίαι for B. C. 346 has been omitted by accident. The inventory was taken during the first six months of the new ταμίαι who entered office in July 346. At Athens it would have been made in the presence of the Logistai; but here it is before a special sitting of the βουλή in the Heraion itself; further, at Samos, it is the new officials who record the *taking over* of the treasures from their predecessors, while at Athens one board records the *handing over* of the treasures to its successor. The list closely resembles the treasure-lists drawn up at Athens after the archonship of Eukleides; especially those of Artemis Brauronia of the time of Lykurgos the orator. Ἐξαστις seems to mean 'a fringed edge.'

## 115.

## Honours from Pisa to two Sikyonians.

About B. C. 364.

On a thin bronze plate from Olympia, broken in two; the letters are in *repoussé* work. Dittenberger and Purgold, *Inscriptionen von Olympia*, p. 73, no. 36. Michel, *Recueil*, no. 198. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, no. 98.

Θεός. [Τ]ύχα : Πρό[ξ]ενοι  
 θεαροδόκοι Κλέανδρος,  
 Σωκ[λής] : Πισατᾶν αὐτο-  
 ἰ καὶ γένος : Σεκνώνιοι,  
 5 ὑπὸ [Ἑλλα]γοδικᾶν : Ἀγιάδ-  
 ας : Φίλ[ων] Λυκομή[δ]εος,  
 Βάθυλ[λος Κλ]εομ[ά]χω.

In B. C. 365 the forces of the Arkadian league expelled the Eleians from the place of festival, and commenced the games of the 104th Olympiad in conjunction with the Pisatans. Attacked by the Eleians, who had summoned help from Achaia, and supported by 2,000 Argives and 400 Athenian troopers, they maintained possession of the place; but in order to pay their troops, they were obliged to plunder the temple treasury. Some members of the league, however, and notably the Mantineians, protested against the sacrilege so effectually that in the end the treasure was restored and peace made with the Eleians (B. C. 363). See Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 4, 14-35. In the interval the Pisatans granted the honour of proxenia here recorded to Kleandros and Sokles. In B. C. 366 Kleandros himself is mentioned by Xenophon (*Hellen.* vii. 1. 45) as one of five generals, elected by the Arkadians and Argives at the instance of Euphron the Sikyonian to lead them in the anti-Spartan movement. Note the anacoluthon in the last clause.

## 116 [91].

## Astykrates (of Delphoi?) banished by the Amphiktyonic Council; welcomed at Athens: B. C. 363.

Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 54; cp. Kirchhoff, *Monatsberichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1866, pp. 196-202; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 100; Michel, *Recueil*, 94; Sauppe, *Philologus*, xix. p. 249; H. Schenkl, *Wiener Studien*, 1880, p. 221; Pomtow, *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1894, p. 842; A. Wilhelm, *Hermes*, 24 (1889), p. 125 and *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 221.

[Ἐπὶ Χαρ]ικλείδου ἄρχουτο[s ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄκα]μαντίδος δευτέρα[s πρυτανεία]s, ἣν Νικόστρατο[s Φιλοστράτου] Παλληνεὺς ἐγρα[μμάτευεν,  
 5 τρι]ακοστῆι τῆς πρυτ[ανείας].  
 Ἔδ'οξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δῆμωι . . . .  
 . . ν]ης Παιανιεὺς ἐπεστάτε[ι, Κρατῖνος?  
 εἴ]πεν· περὶ ᾧ λέγει Ἄστυκράτης ὁ Δελφ-  
 10 ῶ]ς(?) καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἐψηφίσθ[αι τῆι βουλ-  
 ῆ]ι, τοὺς προέδρους, οἳ ἂν λάχω[σι προεδρεύει]ν ἐν τῶι δῆμωι, προσαγαγ[εῖν Ἄστυκράτην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς τ]ῆν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν καὶ χρηματίσαι, γ]νώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι [τῆς βουλῆς  
 15 εἰς] τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆι [βουλῆι, ἐπειδὴ] Ἄνδρόνικος ὁ Θετταλὸ[s ἱερομνημονῶν] παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τῶν Ἀ[μ]φικτιόνων καὶ τοὺς Δελφῶν εἰσήγαγεν ἀ[ειφυγίαν? κατ'] Ἄστυκράτους καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε  
 20 φυγαδεῦσαι Ἄστυκράτην καὶ [τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ], καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο, [. . . . .  
 . .] δεδῶχθαι τῶι δῆμωι, τὰς μὲν [δικὰς τὰς κ]ατὰ Ἄστυκράτους καὶ τῶν μετ' [αὐτοῦ γε]νημένας ἐν Ἀμφικτίσιν [ἀ]τ[ελεῖς εἶ-  
 25 ναι]. εἰ δὲ τίς τι αἰτιᾶται Ἄστ[υκράτη κα-  
 ἰ] τοῦ]s μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀδικεῖν Δελ[φῶν τινα ἢ τ-  
 ὀ κοινὸν] τῆς πόλεως τῆς Δελ[φῶν] - - (here six  
 or eight lines are lost) - -

35 ον, καλέσαι [δὲ Ἀστυκράτην καὶ τοὺς μετ' α]-  
 ὑτοῦ ἐπὶ ξένια [εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔ]-  
 ριον.

*Rider proposed by Kratinos:—*

Κρατῖνος εἶπεν· [τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆ]-  
 ι βουλῆι περὶ ὧν Ἀσ[τυκράτης ὁ Δελφὸς (?) λ]-  
 40 ἐγει· εἶναι δὲ Ἀστυκρ[άτην Ἀθηναῖον κα]-  
 ἰ ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶνα[ι αὐτὸν φυλῆς]  
 ἦστινος [ἄ]ν ἀπογράψηται, [κα]ὶ [δῆμου καὶ]  
 φρατρίας. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι [δὲ] αὐτο[ῦ καὶ τ]-  
 ῆμ βουλῆν τῆν αἰεὶ βο[υ]λε[ύ]ουσαν ἐάν [του]  
 45 δέηται. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι κα[ὶ ἀτ]έλειαν οἰ-  
 κοῦντι Ἀθήνησι. τῆν δὲ ψῆφον δοῦναι περ[ὶ]  
 αὐτοῦ τοὺς πρυτάνεις τοὺς [μετὰ] τῆν Ἀκαμ-  
 αντίδα πρυταν[εῦ]οντας ἐν τῆ[ι π]ρώτῃ ἐ-  
 κκλησίαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖ[s] μ[ετ]ὰ Ἀστυκ-  
 50 ράτους ἐκπεπτωκόσι [ἰ]σοτέλειαν καθάπ-  
 ερ Ἀθηναίοις, Ἀρχεδάμωι, [Ἀ]ρι[στ]οξένωι,  
 Δαμοσίμωι, Νικά[νδ]ρω[ι], Πατρο[κ]λεῖ, Ἀρχέ-  
 λαι, Μένωνι, Ἐχε[. κ]ράτει, Ἡ[γ]ησ[τ]άρχωι, Ἐλ-  
 πινίκωι. [τ]ὸ δὲ ψῆφισμα τόδ[ε] ἀ[ν]αγρά[ψα]ι  
 55 τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆ[s] ἐν [σ]τήλῃ[ι λι]-  
 θίνῃ [κ]αὶ στήσαι [ἐ]ν ἀκροπόλ[ε]ι. εἰς [δὲ] τ-  
 ῆν ἀναγραφῆν τῆς στήλ[ης] δοῦναι τὸν τα[μ]-  
 ῖαν τοῦ δήμου ΔΔ δρα[χ]μὰς ἐκ [τ]ῶν [κα]τὰ ψηφί-  
 σματα ἀναλισκομένων τ[ῶ]ι δήμωι. καλέσ-  
 60 αι δὲ Ἀστ[υ]κράτη κ[αὶ] τοὺς μ[ε]τὰ Ἀστυκράτ-  
 οὺς ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὔριον.

Kirchhoff remarks that this decree is dated about nine months before the battle of Mantinea, or shortly before the last march of Epameinondas into Peloponnese. Thebes was at this moment supreme in northern Greece, since the capture of Oropos from Athens in B. C. 366 (Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 4. 1), the destruction of Orchomenos B. C. 364 (Diod. xv. 79), and the crushing defeat of Alexandros of Pherai (Plut. *Pelopid.* 35). Note, as regards this last fact, that the hieromnemon who proposed the punishment of Astykrates was a Thessalian.

The Thebans, thus dominant, were not slow to make the Amphiktyonic council subserve their own political purposes, as afterwards in the Sacred War. But in Phokis there was a decided opposition to the supremacy of Thebes; and the Phokians declined to follow Epameinondas in his last expedition (Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 5. 4). Therefore we may adopt Kirchhoff's plausible suggestion, that the persons here welcomed at Athens were citizens of Delphoi who were friendly to Athens, and were the leaders of the anti-Theban opposition, and had accordingly been banished through Theban influence. Dittenberger notes, however, that of the eleven names mentioned, no less than six occur among the Delphic magistrates between 351 and 343 B. C.; so that it would seem that the exiles were recalled after the fall of the Theban supremacy. Kratinos, who had probably moved the *προβούλευμα*, appears to have taken the opportunity of moving an amendment to it when brought before the *ἐκκλησία*.

## 117 [92].

**The Athenians thank Menelaos for helping Timotheos in Chalkidike: B. C. 363-362.**

Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 55; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* <sup>2</sup>, 102; Michel, *Recueil*, 96. Comp. Sauppe, *Philologus*, xix. 247; Dittenberger in *Satura phil. H. Sauppio oblat.* (1879), pp. 43 foll.

[Μ]ενέλαος Πελαγῶν εὐεργέτ[η]ς.

Ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ

τῆς Οἰνητίδος ἔκτης πρυτανείας.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· Οἰνεῖς ἐπρυτάνευ(ε)ν· Νικ-  
 5 [ό]στρατος ἐγραμμάτευεν· Χαρικλῆς Λευκοσοεὺς ἐπεστά-  
 [τ]ει· Σάτυρος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Τιμόθεος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀποφα[ί-  
 νει] Μενέλαον τὸν Πελαγῶνα καὶ αὐτὸν συνπολεμο[ῦ-  
 ντα] καὶ χρήματα παρέχοντα εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρ-  
 [ὸς] Χαλκιδέας καὶ πρὸς Ἀμφίπολι, ἐψηφίσθαι τῇ β-  
 10 [ουλ]ῇ προσάγειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρῶ-  
 [την] ἐκκλησίαν, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλ-

[ἦς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι μὲ-  
 [ν αὐ]τὸν ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν καὶ ποιεῖ ὅ τι δύνατα-  
 [ι ἀγ]αθὸν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι  
 15 [δὲ α]ὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς τοὺς ὄντας περ-  
 [ὶ Μα]κεδονίαν, ὅπως ἄν, ἐάν του δέχεται, τυγχά-  
 [νηι]· εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐρέσθαι αὐτῶι παρὰ τοῦ δήμο-  
 [ν ἐ]άν τι δύνηται καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθόν· καλέσαι δὲ [καὶ  
 Με]νέλαον ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς [αὔριον].

*Rider proposed by the mover:—*

20 [Σάτυ]ρος εἶπεν· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ·  
 ἐπειδὴ [δ]ὲ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ Μ[ενελάου εὐεργ]-  
 ἐται ἦσαν] τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθη[ναίων, εἶναι καὶ  
 Μελέλαον εὐεργε]τη[ν - - - -

The Menelaos of this inscription apparently belonged to the tribe of the Lynkestai (a branch of the Pelagones), and is to be distinguished from the half-brother of king Philip (Justin, vii. 4. 5: cp. Harpokration, *s. v.* Μενέλαος; in the latter passage the two are identified). Our inscription proves that Menelaos was in the neighbourhood of Thrace, and co-operating with Timotheos in those successes in Chalkidike and the Makedonian coast which are described by Isokrates (xv. *de permut.* 111-113). At a later date (B. C. 351, *Philipp.* i. § 27), Demosthenes chides the Athenians for allowing Menelaos to fight their battles for them, i. e. against Philip in Thrace. We know that Timotheos' great difficulty was money to pay his troops (cp. Grote, ch. 79), so that it is interesting to find Menelaos assisting him with funds. Timotheos failed to take Amphipolis.

The reference to Menelaos' forefathers is borne out by fragmentary inscriptions (*C. I. A.* i. 42, 43; Hill, *Sources for Gk. Hist.* iii. 272, 273), which prove friendly relations between Athens and Arrhabaios, king of the Lynkestai (cp. Thuk. iv. 79 foll.). The ἄλλο ἀγαθόν, as we see from no. 124, was probably the Athenian citizenship.

## 118 [93].

## Counter-revolution in Keos checked by Athens:

## B. C. 363-362.

Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ii (1877), p. 142; C. I. A. iv (2), 54 b (p. 16); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 101; Michel, *Recueil*, 95; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 163, no. 173 (xliii). Comp. Hartel, *Att. Staatsrecht* (Wiener Sitzungsber., 1878, xci. pp. 104 foll.); Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xxii (1887), p. 241, note 1; E. Sonne, *de arbitr. extern.* p. 105; Szanto, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xvi (1891), p. 35; Pridik, *de Cei ins. rebus* (1892), pp. 36 foll.; Lipsius, *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1898, p. 159. The marble is at Athens.

## Θεοί.

Ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδου ἄρχοντος· Αἰαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευεν, Νικό-  
στρατος Παλληνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, Φιλίτιος Βουτάδης  
ἐπεστάται· § 1. ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· Ἄριστοφῶν  
5 εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἰουλιῆται, οὗς κατήγαγον Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπο-  
φαίνουσιν ὀφείλουσαν τὴν π[ό]λιν τὴν Ἰουλιητῶν τῆι πόλει(ι)  
τῆι Ἀθηναίων τρία τάλαντα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ λογισθέντος ἀργυ-  
[ρ]ίου κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὃ Μενέξενος  
εἶπεν, δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ, ἀποδοῦναι Ἰουλιήτας Ἀθηνα-  
10 ἰοῖς ταῦτα τὰ χρ[ῆ]ματα ἐν τῶι Σκιροφοριῶνι μηνὶ τῶι ἐ-  
πὶ Χαρικλείδου ἄρχοντος· ἔαν δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐν τῶι χ-  
ρόνῳ τῶι εἰρημένῳ, εἰ[σ]πραξάντων αὐτοὺς οἱ ἡιρημέν-  
οι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου εἰσπράτ[τ]ειν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα παρ-  
ὰ τῶν νησιωτῶν τρόπ[ω]ι ὅτῳ ἂν ἐπίστωνται· συνεισπρα-  
15 τόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς [καὶ] οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ Ἰουλιητῶν Ἐχέ-  
τιμος καὶ Νικόλεω[s κ]αὶ Σ[ά]τυρος καὶ Γλαύκων καὶ Ἡρακ-  
λείδης. § 2. ὅπως [δ' ἂν] κ[αὶ] οἱ ὄρκοι καὶ αἱ συνθήκαι, ἃς συνέθ-  
ετο Χαβρίας ὁ στ[ρ]ατηγὸς κα[ὶ] ὄμοσε Κεῖοις ὑπὲρ Ἀθηνα-  
ίων καὶ Κεῖων οὗς κα[τῆ]γαγον Ἀθηναῖοι, κύριαι ὄσι, ἀναγ-  
20 ράψαι τοὺς στρατηγ[οὺς] τοὺς Ἰουλιητῶν, οὗς εἴρηται ἐν τῶι  
ψηφίσματι συνεισπράττειν τὰ χρήματα, ἐν στήλῃ λιθί-  
νῃ, καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καθ-  
άπερ ἐν Καρθαῖαι ἀναγεγραμμέναι εἰσί, ἀναγράψαι δὲ  
καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐς στήλῃ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ  
25 στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι τὸν τ-  
αμίαν τοῦ δήμου ΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλι-  
σκομένων. § 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἰουλιητῶν οἱ παραβάντες τοὺς ὄρκ-

ους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας καὶ πολεμήσαντες ἐναντῖα τῶι δή-  
 μωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κε[ί]οις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχο-  
 30 ις καὶ θανάτου αὐτῶν καταγνωσθέντος κατελθόντ[ε]ς ἐς  
 Κέω τὰς τε στήλας ἐξέβαλο[ν] ἐ[ν αἷ]ς ἦσαν ἀναγεγραμ[μ]έν-  
 αι αἱ συνθήκαι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρα-  
 βάντων τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοὺς Ἀ-  
 θηναίων, οὓς κατήγαγεν ὁ δῆμος, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν  
 35 δὲ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν καὶ τὰς οὐ[σ]ίας ἐδήμευσαν παρὰ  
 τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, Σατυρίδου καὶ Τιμοξένου κα-  
 ἰ Μιλτιάδου, ὅτι κατηγόρουν Ἀντι[πά]τρου, ὅτε ἡ βουλή ἡ Ἀθην-  
 αίων κατέγνω αὐτοῦ θάνατον, ἀποκτ[ε]ίναντος τὸν πρόξε-  
 νον τὸν Ἀθηναίων . . . ισ . ωνα παρὰ [τ]ὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δή-  
 40 μου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων κ[α]ὶ [π]αρα[βά]ντα (sic) τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς  
 συνθή-

κας, φεύγειν αὐτοὺς [Κ]έω [καὶ] Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶ-  
 ν δημοσίαν εἶναι τοῦ δή[μου] τοῦ Ἰουλιητῶν ἀπογράψαι δ-  
 ἔ αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτί[κα μά]λα ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου τῶι γ-  
 ραμματεῖ τοὺς στρατηγού[ς τ]οῦ[ς] Ἰουλιητῶν τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦν-  
 45 τας Ἀθήνησι· ἐὰν δέ [τινες τῶν] ἀπογραφέντων ἀμφισβητ-  
 ῶσι μὴ εἶναι τούτων τῶ[ν] ἀνδρῶ[ν], ἐξείναι αὐτοῖς ἐγγυη-  
 τὰς καταστήσασι πρὸς [τ]οῦ[ς] σ[τ]ρατηγούς τοὺς Ἰουλιητῶν τρι-  
 ιάκουτα ἡμερῶν δικά[ς] ὑ[π]ο[σ]χ[εῖν] [κα]τὰ τ[οῦ]ς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς  
 συνθήκας ἐν Κέωι καὶ [ἐν τῇ ἐκκ]λήτῳ [πό]λει Ἀθήνησι· Σ-  
 50 ατυρίδην δὲ καὶ Τιμό[ξενον] καὶ Μιλτιάδην ἀ[π]ί[νε]ναι [ε]λ-  
 ς Κέω ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαντῶν· ἐπ[αι]ν[έ]σ[α]ι δ[ὲ] τ[οῦ]ς ἦκοντας Ἰουλιητῶ-  
 ν Δημήτριον, Ἡρακλε[ίδην], Ἐ[χέτι]μο[ν], Κ[αλ]λίφαντον· ἐπαι-  
 νέσαι δὲ καὶ Σατυρ[ίδην] καὶ Τιμό[ξενον] καὶ Μιλτιάδην.  
 ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ καὶ [τ]ῆν [π]όλιν [τ]ῆν Κα[ρ]θαίων καὶ Ἀγλώκρι-  
 55 του καὶ καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ [ξ]έ[νια εἰς τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς  
 αὔριον.

§ 4. Τάδε συνέθεντο καὶ ὤμοσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίων πρ-  
 ὸς τὰς πόλε(ι)ς τ[ὰ]ς ἐν Κέωι κα[ὶ] οἱ σύμμαχοι· οὐ μνησικακήσω  
 [τῶ]ν πα[ρ]εληλυθότων πρὸ[ς] Κείους οὐ[δ]ενὸς οὐδὲ ἀποκτενῶ Κ-  
 60 [είων] οὐ[δ]ένα οὐδὲ φυγάδα πώσω τῶν ἐμμενόντων τοῖς ὄρκο-  
 [ις καὶ τ]αῖς συνθήκαις ταῖσδε, εἰς δὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν εἰσά-  
 [ξω καθάπ]ερ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους· ἐὰν δέ τι[ς] νεωτερίζῃ τι  
 [ἐν Κέωι παρ]ὰ τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω οὐ-  
 [τε τέχνηι οὔ]τε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ εἰς τὸ δυνατόν· [εἰ] δὲ τίς  
 65 [μὴ] βούλεται οἰκείν ἐγ Κέωι, ἔάσω αὐτὸν ὅπου ἂν βούληται τῶ-



[ν συμμαχίδων πόλ]εων οἰκοῦντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καρποῦσθαι· ταῦτα  
 [ἐμπεδορκήσω νῆ τὸν] Δία, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, [ν]ῆ  
 [τὴν Δήμητρα, εὐορκοῦντι] μὲν πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, ἐπιορκοῦν[τ-  
 70 [s Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμαχοῦς] καὶ Κείων οὐδὲ κατήγαγον Ἀθ[η-  
 ναίους· συμμαχήσω Ἀθηναίους καὶ] τοῖς συμμαχοῖς καὶ οὐ-  
 [κ ἀποστήσομαι ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων οὐδὲ τῶ]ν συμμαχῶν οὔτε αὐτὸς  
 [ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλλωι πείσομαι ἐς τὸ δυνατ]όν· τὰς δὲ δίκας καὶ [τ-  
 75 ατὰ τὰς συνθήκας, ὅποσαι ἂν ᾧσιν ὑπὲρ ἐ]κατὸν δραχμᾶς· ἐὰ-  
 [ν δέ τις τολμᾷ ἀδικεῖν Κείων τοὺς κατελθ]όντας ἢ Ἀθηναίου-  
 [s ἢ τῶν συμμαχῶν τινὰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ] τὰς συνθήκας,  
 [οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω οὔτε τέχνηι οὔτε μηχανῇι οὐδ]᾽ ἐμιᾷ, βοηθή-  
 [σω δὲ παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ταῦτα ἐμπ]εδορκήσω ν-  
 80 [ῆ τὸν Δία, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, νῆ τὴν Δ]ήμητρα, εὐ-  
 [ορκοῦντι μὲν πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ κα]κά.  
 § 6. [Τάδε ὤμοσαν Κείων οὐδὲ κατήγαγον Ἀθηναίους· οὐ μν]ησικακ-  
 [ήσω - - - - - ]ων οὐδὲ  
 - - - - - μενο  
 85 - - - - - ου  
 - -

Keos had been among the first islands that joined the new Athenian league in B. C. 376-375 (see no. 101). It appears that, no doubt at the time of the presence in the Aegæan waters of the naval force under Epameinondas (B. C. 363; Diod. Sic. xv. 78-79; Grote, ch. 79), which had for its object injury to Athenian maritime influence, there took place in Keos an anti-Athenian revolution. The Athenian proxenos was killed by one Antipatros, and the Athenian faction expelled. Chabrias however restored them, and Antipatros was condemned to death. Again the anti-Athenian party rose to power at *Iulis*, and took the steps sanctioned by custom in such circumstances (§ 3). From the Scholiast on Aischines, i. 64, we gather that Aristophon was sent to Keos as general, and punished the rebels severely διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν, for which Hypereides afterwards unsuccessfully indicted him in a γραφή παρανόμων. It was Aristophon then who put down the second revolution. The Athenians appear to have assisted

the people of Iulis with money, which now in B. C. 363 they require to be repaid by the month of Skirophorion (June, B. C. 362), the last month of Charikleides' year. Other islands in the league were backward in the payment of loans and *συντάξεις*, as appears from the mention of the Commissioners in § 1.

§ 2 orders the erection at Iulis and Athens of the terms of agreement settled by Chabrias when he reorganized the city after the first revolution. These are given in §§ 4 foll.

§ 3 describes the second anti-Athenian revolution. It is not clear whether the stelai which were thrown out of the temple contained the original contract with Athens, made about B. C. 374, or the contract referred to in § 2.

Lines 47 foll.: Accused were to appear before the strategoi within thirty days in Keos, or at Athens, the *ἐκκλητος πόλις*, at which certain cases were to be tried. *δίκη ἐκκλητος* below (l. 74) seems, although this point is not quite certain, to refer to appeal-cases, and not merely to any cases which were tried in the first instance at Athens (cp. Hesych. s. v. *ἐκκλητοι δίκαι· αἱ ἐπὶ ξένης λεγομέναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει*). See Lipsius, *loc. cit.*

§ 4 recites the covenant and oath entered into by Chabrias (representing Athens and the allies) towards the city of Keos. Lines 65, 66: the object of allowing malcontents to reside in any of the allied states was to prevent their going over to the Theban side.

§ 5 gives the corresponding engagement and oath of allegiance on the part of the city of Keos towards Athens and the league. The Keians undertake to allow all cases involving sums of more than 100 drachmai to be tried in the first instance in the *ἐκκλητος πόλις* (Athens).

§ 6 gives the oath of the citizens of Keos favourable to Athens and now restored to their city.

For a commercial treaty with Keos in which, doubtless as a punishment for the revolt, very stringent terms are dictated by Athens, see no. 137.

## 119 [94].

## Alliance between Athens, the Arkadians, Achaians, Eleians, and Phleiasians: B. C. 362-361.

Στοιχειδόν. Two fragments: (a) Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. p. 403, no. 57 b; and in *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i. p. 197. (b) Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 112; *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i. p. 203. Cp. Beloch, *Die att. Pol. seit Perikl.* p. 318; G. F. Unger, *Philol.* 49 (1890), p. 121; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 168, no. 174 (xliv); Michel, *Recueil*, 10; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 105, and add. vol. ii. p. 810; Foucart, *Mél. d'Épigr.* p. 56, and *Rev. Arch.* 1898, ii. pp. 313 foll. The top of the stelè is surmounted by a relief representing Zeus enthroned, with thunderbolt; a female figure (=the *Συμμαχία*?) approaches, lifting her veil, while Athena stands by.

## Ἐπὶ Μόλωνος ἄρχοντος.

Συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Φλειασίων ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· Οἰνητὸς ἐπρυτάνευεν, Ἀγαθάρχος Ἀγαθάρχον Ὀῆθε-  
 5 ν ἐγραμμάτευ[εν], Ξάνθιππος Ἐρμειος ἐπεστάται· Περ-  
 ριάνδρος εἶπε[ν]· εὔξασθαι μὲν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτίκα μ-  
 ἄλα τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τῆι Ἀθηναίῳ τῆι Πολιά-  
 δι καὶ τῆι Δήμητρι καὶ τῆι Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα [θ]-  
 10 εοῖς καὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς, ἐὰν συνενείγκῃ (sic) [Ἀθη-  
 ν]αίων τῶι δήμῳ τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας, θυ-  
 σία]ν καὶ πρόσοδον ποιήσεσθα[ι] τελουμένων [τούτω-  
 ν κα]θότι ἂν τῶι δήμῳ δοκῆι· τα[ῦ]τα μὲν ἠὔχθ[αι], ἐπει-  
 15 ἰ Ἄρ]κάδες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ Φλε[ιάσιοι] κα-  
 ἰ ἢ βο]υλῆ προουβούλευσεν κατὰ ταῦτά, δεδῶ[χθαι] τῶι δ-  
 ῆμῳ εἶ[ναι] συμμάχους τύχηι ἀγαθ[ῆ]ι τοῦ δήμου εἰς  
 τὸν αἰ[ὲ] χρόνον Ἀθηναίων τὸν δήμον καὶ τοὺς συμμάχ-  
 οὺς καὶ Ἀ]ρκάδ[ας] καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Φλει-  
 ασίους - - - - ]

(b) - - - -

.. ἐν τῆι στήλῃ ταύτῃ. ἐὰν δέ τις ἴη ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττι-  
 25 κῆ]ν, ἢ τὸν δήμον [καταλύη] τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἢ τύραννον  
 κα]θιστήη ἢ ὀλίγαρχίαν, βοηθεῖν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαι-  
 οὺς] καὶ Ἡλείους κ[αὶ] Φλειασίους Ἀθηναίοις παντὶ σ-  
 θέ]νυει καθότι ἂν [ἐπαγγέλλωσιν] Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸ δ-

υν]ατόν' καὶ ἐάν [τις ἴηι ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἢ τὸν]  
 30 δῆμον καταλύει τὸν Φλειασίων, ἢ ἐὰν τὴν πολιτεία]-  
 ν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ τὴν Ἀρκάδων ἢ τὴν Ἠλείων καταλύη ἢ]  
 μεθιστή, ἢ φυγα[δεύη τινάς, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους τ]-  
 οὔτοις παντὶ σθ[ένοι καθότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν οἱ ἀ]-  
 δικούμενοι, κα[τὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ἡγεμόνας δὲ εἶναι ἐ]-  
 35 ν τῇ αὐτῶν ἐκά[στοις· ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλλο δοκῆι ἀπάσαις  
 τ]αῖς πόλεσι προ[σθεῖναι, ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ, εὖορκον εἶν]-  
 αι. ὁμόσαι δ' [ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τὰ μέγιστα τέλη Πελο]-  
 ποννησίων, [τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ το]-  
 ῦς ταξιάρχ[ους καὶ τοὺς ἑπάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρ]-  
 40 χους καὶ τ[οὺς ἑπείας· ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν κ]-  
 αὶ Ἡ[λ](ε)[ίων καὶ Φλειασίων ὁμόσαι τοὺς πρέσβεις το]-  
 ῦς ἐπιδημοῦντας Ἀθήνησιν - - -].

This alliance, made under Molon (i. e. after 22–23 July, 362), has to be connected with the battle of Mantinea (Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 1–3). That battle is placed by Diodoros in the year of Charikleides (xv. 82; cp. [Plut.] x. *Or.* p. 845 e). Either therefore these authorities date the battle too early (as Beloch supposes, who would put it possibly as late as June–July, 361); or this alliance is subsequent to the battle (P. Foucart, *loc. cit.*; B. Niese, *Hermes*, 34, p. 527, note 1). In the latter case, the alliance which we have here is merely a renewal of the agreement which must have been made by Athens with the same allies before the battle. Thus, for instance, with the arrangement in lines 34, 35, compare the understanding mentioned by Xenophon (vii. 5. 3), that the hegemony should belong to each state in its own territory. The Lakedaimonians, who had stood with the Athenians at Mantinea, are said to have excluded themselves from the κοινὴ εἰρήνη which followed (see next inscription); accordingly we find they have no part in this new alliance. Xenophon does not name the Phleasians, but their position was, as hitherto, one of firm fidelity to the Spartan side; see Xenophon's chapter of praise, *Hell.* vii. 2. Their constitution was democratic in B. C. 381–380 (ibid. v. 3. 16), and probably also at the time of this agreement (cp. l. 30). Elis and Achaia were under oligarchies (ibid. vii. 1. 43; 4. 15).

## 120.

## The Greeks and the Revolt of the Satraps: B. C. 362-361.

Seen by Fourmont at Argos, and published from his copy by Böckh, *C. I. G.* 1118. A. Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* iii (1900), pp. 145 foll.; M. Fränkel, *Rh. Mus.* 56 (1901), pp. 233 foll. Cp. U. Köhler, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i. p. 15, note 1; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 7, p. 67; A. Schäfer, *Demosthenes u. seine Zeit*, i<sup>2</sup>. 115, note 1.

----- νου φυγ -----  
 ----- μετ]έχουσιν τῆς κοινῆς [εἰρήνης\* δηλ-  
 ὦσαι δὲ τῶι παρὰ τ]ῶν σατραπῶν ἤκουτι διότ[ι οἱ [Ἑλληνες πρ-  
 εσβεύσ]αντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλέλυνται τὰ ἀ[μφίλογα πρὸ-  
 5 s] κοινῆν εἰρήνην, ὅπως ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ π[ρὸς αὐτοὺς πολ-  
 ἐ]μου τὰς πόλεις ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν ὡς μεγ[ίστας καὶ εὐδαίμονεστάτ-?  
 α]s ποιῶσιν καὶ χρήσιμοι μένωσιν τοῖς φίλο[ις καὶ ἰσχυροῖ;?  
 β]ασιλεῖ δὲ οὐδένα πόλεμον οἶδα(ι)σιν ὄντα πρ[ὸς ἑαυτοὺς, κ-  
 ᾶ]ν [ἡ]συχίαν ἔχη καὶ μὴ συνβάλλῃ τοὺς Ἑ[λληνας μηδὲ τὴν ν-  
 10 ὦν] γεγενημένην ἡμῖν εἰρήνην ἐπιχειρή[ι διαλύειν τέχνην μ-  
 ηδ]εμῖαι μηδὲ μηχανῆι, ἔξομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς [ἡ]συχίαν τὰ πρὸς β-  
 ασ]ιλέα· ἐὰν δὲ πολεμῆι πρὸς τινὰ τῶν [ἐνσπόνδων ἡμῖν ἢ πρ-  
 ἀγμ]ατὰ τισι παρέχη ἐπὶ διαλύσει τῆς εἰρή[νης τῆσδε ἢ αὐ-  
 τὸς] ἐναντίον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν τοῖς τῆνδε [τὴν εἰρήνην ποῆσα-  
 15 σιν] ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐκεῖνου χώρ[ας, βοηθήσομεν κοινῆ-  
 ι πάντε]s ἀξίως τῆς τε νῦν γεγενημένης ε[ιρήνης καὶ τῶν προγ-  
 ὄνων· . . . .] τοῖς δικασταῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν [πόλεων - -  
 - -] χώρας ΔΣ ἀμφιλλεγοντ - -  
 - - - - ν ἐπὶ τούτοις διην - -  
 20 - - - - - αντας - - -

The restorations given in the text are Wilhelm's, modified in l. 8 in accordance with Fränkel's reading οἶδασιν (cp. Xen. *Oecon.* xx. 14; Jannaris, *Hist. Gk. Grammar*, § 970). The inscription is sufficiently well preserved to show that it represents a resolution taken by Greek states who had agreed to settle their differences (l. 4) and join in a κοινὴ εἰρήνη. Böckh supposed this to be the peace of Antalkidas (B. C. 386); Köhler the peace which followed the battle of Chaironeia. Schäfer in his latest reference to the subject doubts the

genuineness of the inscription ; seemingly without good reason, since a forger would have avoided the difficulties which the text presents to the restorer. For reasons given by Wilhelm, Böckh's and Köhler's dates must be rejected. It is to be noticed that a message has come to the Greeks from 'the satraps,' in reply to which they state that unless the Great King takes the offensive they will not in any way move against him. This circumstance points to the time of the revolt of the satraps (Diod. xv. 90). Just as Tachos of Egypt appealed to Athens (see no. 121), so, it would seem, the satraps who had intrigued together against their master appealed to the Greeks in general. Chabrias went to help Tachos in his private capacity; the Spartans on the other hand were the only Greeks to make an alliance of state with Tachos, and they sent their king Agesilaos (Grote, pt. 2, ch. 80). Now Diodoros (xv. 89. 1) tells us that after the battle of Mantinea, the Greeks *συνθέμενοι κοινὴν εἰρήνην καὶ συμμαχίαν κατέταττον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τούτους ἀκατάλλακτον ἀλλοτριότητα τῶν σπονδῶν οὐ προείλουτο κοινωεῖν καὶ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρχον ἕκσπονδοι.* Cp. xv. 90; Polyb. iv. 33. 8 f.; Plut. *Ages.* 35.

The documents relating to the negotiations between the various states with a view to such a general peace after the defeat of Thebes at Mantinea would naturally, since Sparta abstained from this movement, be drawn up in the dialect of the other leading state—Athens. This explains the fact that the dialect of our fragment is Attic, in spite of its being found at Argos. The satraps seem to have approached the Greeks during the course of their negotiations, and have received the reply embodied in this inscription.

The last lines seem to have reference to judges delegated by the states in connexion with territorial disputes. So far as the negotiations for the general peace were concerned, the settlement of such disputes must have been an important factor. But the inscription when intact probably referred to many matters, of which only one, the relation with Persia, is preserved to us.

## 121 [95].

Envoys of Tachos king of Egypt at Athens: B. C. 362-1.

Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 60; Foucart, *Rev. de Philologie*, 1896, pp. 84. fol. A mere fragment.

Θ[εοί].

Φανοκλ[ῆς - - -

- ]ς ἐγρα[μμάτευεν].

Τοῖς Ταχῶ [πρέσβεσιν].

5 Πίγρητι,

[Ἄ]πολλοδώρ[ωι,

Ζω]πύρῳι

(The decree which followed is now lost).

Tachos king of Egypt shared in the general revolt of the Western Satrapies from Persia at the latter end of the reign of Artaxerxes II. Tachos, in the desire to render himself independent, called in the aid of mercenaries, and secured the assistance of the aged Agesilaos from Sparta (who died on his march homewards to Kyrene in the winter of 361-360 B. C.), and of Chabrias from Athens. See the notes on the preceding inscription; Smith's *Dict. of Biog.* s. v. Tachos; Niese on Agesilaos in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclop.* i. 802; Maspero, *Hist. Anc.* iii. p. 759; Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, pp. 164 foll.; Xen. *Ages.* ii. 27 foll.; Plut. *Ages.* 36 foll.; Clinton, *F. H.* ii, Appendix on the Kings of Sparta (*Agesilaos*). Foucart dates our inscription in B. C. 360-59 or one of the succeeding two years, since in these alone is there a vacancy for the secretary Phanokles. But the assumption of so late a date causes other difficulties. Possibly Phanokles was a *suffectus* in B. C. 362 or 361.

## 122 [96].

Relic of Chabrias' Expedition to Egypt: B. C. 361-360 (?).

On a stone (now lost) found somewhere near Memphis: the text is from Böckh-Franz, *C. I. G.* vol. iii. no. 4702.

All that the inscription itself reveals is that it is a votive monument to an Egyptian deity, erected by Greek mercenaries

some time in the fourth century B. C. The writing cannot be later. The editors are therefore justified in conjecturing that these may have been mercenaries in Chabrias' expedition in help of King Tachos (see no. 121). But it is equally possible that the inscription may belong to the time of Chabrias' earlier campaigns in Egypt (B. C. 386-380): see Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, p. 159. Strabo mentions a *Χαβρίου χάραξ* and a *Χαβρίου κόμη* in the Delta, which doubtless date from this campaign (Strab. pp. 760, 803; cp. Plin. *N. H.* v. 68; *Chabriae castra*). The metrical lines, of which only a fragment remains, are only restored *verbi gratia*. The *οικοδομαί* are the pyramids. *Tānos* is probably Ptah-Tanen (or -Tatunen) the chief god of Memphis.

[Ἄντ' εὐεργεσίας Ἑλλήνων ἀενάοισιν  
Οἶδε πρὸς οἰκ[ο]δομαῖς Τάνον θεὸν ἰδρύσαντο.

Λυσίκριτος Ἀθηναῖ(ος), Ἀνδρό[χ]αρις Νισύρι(ος), Μνασιγένης Βοιωτ(ός). Ἐπιτέλης Κυρανα(ίος), Στράτων Καρνανδ(εύς), Σωσικ[λ]ῆς Ἀθηναῖ(ος), Δημήτριος Ἀθηναῖο(ς), Ἀπολλωνίδας Κορίνθιος), Πυθόδωρος Ἀθηναῖ(ος), Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀθηναῖος).

Καὶ τ[ῆ]ν τρά[πεζ]αν ἀνέθεσαν  
Ἀμυρταῖος Ῥόδιος κ.τ.λ.

The *τράπεζα* is a marble table in front of the image to receive gifts and libations: Schreiber-Anderson, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, Pl. xiv. 8.

## 123 [97].

### Alliance between Athens and the Thessalians, against Alexandros of Pherai: B. C. 361-360.

Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ii (1877), pp. 197 foll.; cp. p. 291; *C. I. A.* iv (2), 59 b (p. 21); Michel, *Recueil*, 11; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 108; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. no. 176 (xlv).

Θε[ο]ί.

Ἐπὶ Νικοφήμεου ἄρχοντος  
συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ  
Θετταλῶν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον.

5 Ἐδοξεν τ[ῆ]ι [β]ουλῆι κα[ὶ] τῶι δήμῳ· Λ[ε]ωντῖς ἐπρυτάνε-



νεν, Χαιρ[ί]ων Χαριναύ[τ]ου Φαληρεὺ[ς] ἐγραμμάτευεν, Ἄρ-  
 χιππος Ἄμφ[ι]τροπῆθε[ν] ἐπεστάτει· δωδεκάτη τῆς πρ-  
 υτανείας· Ἐ[ξ]ηκεστίδης εἶπεν· [π]ε[ρ]ὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ π-  
 [ρ]έσβεις τῶν Θετταλῶ[ν], ἐψηφίσθα[ι] τῶι δ[ή]μωι, δέχεσθ-  
 10 αι τὴν συμμαχίαν τύχ[η]ι ἀγαθῆι κ[α]θὰ ἐπ[α]γγέλλοντα-  
 [ι] οἱ Θετταλοί[ι], εἶναι δὲ αὐ[τ]οῖ[ς] τῆ[ν] συμμα[χ]ίαν πρὸς Ἀ-  
 θηναίους εἰς [τ]ὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον· εἴ[ν]αι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθην-  
 αίων συμμα[χ]οῦς ἅπαντας Θετταλῶ[ν] συμμα[χ]οὺς καὶ τοὺς  
 [Θ]ετταλῶν Ἀ[θη]ναίων· ὁμόσαι δὲ Ἀ[θη]ναίων μὲν τοὺς στρ-  
 15 [α]τ[η]γοὺς καὶ τ[ῆ]ν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἱπέ-  
 [α]ς τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον· Βοηθήσω π[α]ντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυ-  
 νατόν, ἐάν τις [ἴ]η ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Θετταλῶν ἐπὶ πολ-  
 [έ]μωι ἢ τὸν ἄ[ρ]χοντα καταλύει, δὴ εἴλοντο Θετταλοί, ἢ  
 [τ]ύραννον καθ[ι]στῆναι ἐν Θετταλαί· ἐπομνύναι δὲ τὸν  
 20 [νό]μιμον ὄρκον· ὅπως δ' [ἄ]ν καὶ Θετταλοὶ ὁμόσωσι τῆι π-  
 [ό]λει, ἐ[λ]έσθα[ι] τὸν δῆμον πέντε ἄν[δ]ρας ἐ[ξ] Ἀθηναίων ἀ-  
 πά[ν]των, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Θετταλαί[ν] ἐξορκώ-  
 [σ]ουσιν Ἀγέλαον τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς [π]ολ[ε]μάρχους καὶ  
 τοὺς ἱππάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέ[α]ς καὶ τοὺς ἱερ[ο]μνήμονας  
 25 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλου[ς] ἄρχοντας, ὁπόσοι ὑπέ[ρ] τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Θε-  
 τταλῶν ἄρχουσ[ι]ν, τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον· Βο[η]θήσω παντὶ σθέ-  
 νει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ἐάν τις [ἴ]η ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθ-  
 [η]ναίων ἐπὶ πολέμωι ἢ τὸν δῆμον καταλύει τὸν Ἀθηνα-  
 [ί]ων· ὁμόσαι δὲ [κ]αὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐν  
 30 τ[ῆ]ι βουλῆι τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦ[ν]τα[ς] Ἀθήνησιν τὸν αὐ[τ]οῖ[ν] ὄ[ρ]κον·  
 τὸν δὲ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον μὴ ἐξείν[α]ι κ-  
 [α]ταλύσασθαι [μ]ήτε Θετταλοῖς ἄ[ν]εν Ἀθηναίων μήτε Ἀ-  
 [θη]ναίοις ἄ[ν]εν τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ [τῶν Θετ-  
 αλῶν]. ἐπαινεῖσα[ι] δὲ Ἀγέλαον τὸν ἄρχοντα [καὶ τὸ κ- (?)  
 35 οινὸν] τῶν Θετταλῶν, ὅτι εὖ κ[α]ὶ προθύμ[ω]ς ἐ[ποίη]σαν π[α]-  
 ντα περὶ ὧν αὐ[τ]οῖ[ς] ἡ πόλις ἐ[πε]ηγάγετο· ἐπαινεῖσα[ι]  
 [δὲ καὶ] τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν Θετταλῶν τοὺς ἡκ[ο]ντας κ[αὶ] κ-  
 [α]λέσαι αὐτοὺς [ἐπὶ ξέ]νια [εἰς τὸ πρ]υταγεῖον [εἰς] αὐρι-  
 [ον]. τῆ[ν] δὲ στήλην τῆ[ν] πρὸ[ς] Ἀλέξανδρον [καθ(ε)λ(ε)ῖν  
 τοὺς  
 40 [ταμί]ας τῆς θεοῦ [τῆ]ν π[ε]ρὶ τῆ[ς] συμμαχία[ς]. τοῖς δὲ πρέσ-  
 [βεσι] δοῦναι τὸν [ταμί]αν τ[οῦ] δήμου εἰς ἐφόδια Δ δραχ-  
 [μὰς] ἐκάστῳ· τῆ[ν] δὲ συμμαχίαν τῆ[ν]δε ἀναγράψαι τὸν  
 [γραμμ]ατέα τῆς βουλῆ[ς] ἐν [στ]ήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι

[ἐ]ν ἀκ[ρ]ο[π]όλε[ι], ἐ[ι]ς [δ]ὲ [τῆ]ν ἀναγραφῆν τῆς [σ]τ[ή]λη[s]  
δοῦνα-

45 [ι] τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δή[μου] ΔΔ [δρ]α[χμ]ά[s]· εἶναι δὲ καὶ [Θ]ε[α]ί[τ]-  
η[τ]ο[ν] [τ]ὸν Ἐρχιέα ο . αστο[ν]τα [ἄρ]ιστα [κα]ὶ [πρ]άττο[ν]τα ὅ  
[τ]ι ἀν δύνηται ἀγα[θ]ὸν τῶ[ι] δήμ[ω] [ι] τῶ[ι] Ἀ[θην]α[ί]ω[ν] καὶ Θε-  
τταλ[ο]ῖς ἐν τῶ[ι] τεταγμέν[ω]ι.

Alexandros the tyrant of Pherai (B. C. 368–358), a man of cruel and unscrupulous character, was intent upon enlarging his power at the expense of the autonomous Thessalian towns. The Thessalians accordingly applied to Thebes, and the Thebans in repeated campaigns succeeded in checking and finally curbing his ambition, until he was forced in B. C. 364 to restore the Thessalian towns and content himself within Pherai, becoming a dependent ally of Thebes (Diod. xv. 80; Plut. *Pelop.* 26 foll.). He had previously enjoyed the alliance of Athens (Diod. xv. 71), as our inscription testifies. The new alliance estranged him from his old friends, although the stelè on which his alliance with Athens was commemorated remained standing for the time (line 39). The death of Epameinondas in B. C. 362 freed him from fear of Thebes, and he at once manned a fleet and proceeded to harass the maritime allies of Athens (Diod. xv. 95; Polyain. vi. 2; Dem. I. *in Polycl.* 4). The Thessalians, whose freedom he was again assailing, apply to Athens for an alliance against their common enemy. After their deliverance from Alexandros, the Thessalians had elected a chief archon of their league (Agelaos); under him were four polemarchs, commanding the troops of Pelasgiotis, Hestiaiotis, Thessaliotis, and Phthiotis respectively. The hieromnemones cannot (from the place and manner in which they are mentioned) be the general council of the Thessalian league, but are rather two representatives sent to Delphoi by the Thessalians. The phrase εἶναι ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ (*fin.*) means 'he will be acting a proper part,' 'doing his duty' (cp. nos. 60, l. 48; 140, l. 63). For Exekestides, the mover of this decree, see no. 100, l. 18. •

## 124.

Honours from Ilion to Menelaos the Athenian: about  
B. C. 360.

On a stone found at Ilion (Hissarlik). Schliemann, *Arch. Ztg.* xxix (1872), p. 170, no. 2; *Trojanische Alterthümer*, p. 12, pl. xxix; Michel, *Recueil*, 523; Dittenberger, *Satura philol. H. Sauppe* obl. p. 43 sq.; W. Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 280, note 1; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 103.

Ἴλιεῖς ἔδοσαν Μενελάωι  
Ἀρραβαίου Ἀθηναίωι, εὐερ-  
γέτηι γενομένωι αὐτῶν  
καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν  
5 [ἀ]νδρὶ ἀγαθῶι γενομένωι,  
[προ]ξενίαν καὶ εὐεργεσίαν.

This inscription belongs probably to about B. C. 360. Ilion had been seized by fraud by Charidemos (Dem. xxiii. 154) from Artabazos satrap of Daskyleion. Artabazos besieged him. Charidemos appealed to Athens, with the result that Menelaos (see no. 117), who was now an Athenian citizen, negotiated the peace between Charidemos and Artabazos, and in doing so secured the independence of Ilion.

## 125 [98].

Amphipolis taken by Philip; the friends of Athens  
banished: B. C. 358-357.

Found at Amphipolis, now at Athens: the text is from Böckh, *C. I. G.* 2008, and (more correctly) Le Bas, *Voyage Archéol.* pt. ii. 1418; comp. H. Sauppe, *Inscr. Mac. quattuor*, Weimar 1847; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 551; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 10; Swoboda, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* xvi (1893), 55; Michel, *Recueil*, 324; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 113; U. Köhler, *Berl. Sitzungsber.* 1891 p. 485; O. Hoffmann, *die griech. Dial.* iii. p. 10, no. 14.

Ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι· Φί-  
λωνα καὶ Στρατοκλέ-  
α φεόγειν Ἀμφίπολι-  
ν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀμφ-  
5 ιπολιτέων ἀειφυγί-  
ην καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς

παῖδας, καὶ ἤμ που ἀλί-  
 σκωνται πάσχειν αὐ-  
 τούς ὡς πολεμίους καὶ  
 10 νηποινεὶ τεθνάναι.  
 τὰ δὲ χρήματ' αὐτῶν δ-  
 ημόσια εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἐπ-  
 ιδέκατον ἶρον τοῦ Ἄ-  
 πόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Στρ-  
 15 υμόνος. τοὺς δὲ προστ-  
 άτας ἀναγράψαι αὐτ-  
 οὺς ἐ' στήλην λιθίνην.  
 ἦν δέ τις τὸ ψήφισμα  
 ἀναψηφίζει ἢ καταδ-  
 20 ἐχεται τούτους τέχν-  
 ηι ἢ μηχανῆι δτεωιοῦ-  
 ν, τὰ χρήματ' αὐτοῦ δημ-  
 όσια ἔστω καὶ αὐτὸς  
 φεογέτω Ἄμφίπολιν  
 25 ἀειφυγίην.

What pretext Philip had for attacking Amphipolis in B.C. 358, after evacuating it in 359, we are not told. Probably during the interval there were two parties within the town, the one desiring a closer union with Athens as of old, the other leaning towards Philip: and he was ready enough to take advantage of the faction. At the commencement of his attack envoys were sent to Athens for help, who arrived just as the Athenians were returned from the Euboian expedition (Dem. *Olynth.* i. 8), and their names were Hierax and *Stratokles*. Philon must have been another prominent friend of Athens; for upon the capture of the city Philip τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἐφυγάδευσε (Diod. xvi. 8). Since the decree is passed by the δῆμος, Amphipolis must have retained its constitution, though probably in name only, after the war was over. The dialect is Ionic: for Amphipolis, though an Athenian colony (Thuk. iv. 102: B.C. 437), was yet surrounded by Ionic neighbours, and from the first the Attic element in the town was comparatively small (Thuk. iv. 106). The influence of Sparta must have made it still

smaller (Dem. xiii. *Phil. Ep.* 21). The term *προστάται* is used in a sense analogous to that of *πρωτάνεις* in the Athenian constitution.

## 126 [99].

## Honours to Athenodoros the Condottiere at Kios:

B. C. 360-356.

Copied by Le Bas in the courtyard of the Metropolitan Church at Ghemlik (Kios): entire except on the left. *Voyage Archéol.* vol. iii. pt. v. 1140; Michel, *Recueil*, 539. Comp. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* vii (1883), p. 161; Judeich in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* ii. p. 2043; Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1900, pp. 95, 96. We have not been able to consult Kersten, *de Cyzico*, p. 34.

[Ἐπὶ ἐπιμη]νίου Φρούρου, Ἀθηναίωνος εἰκάδι,  
 [ἐν κυρία] ἐκκλησίαι, Κόνων ἐπρωτάνευε, γνώμη  
 [τῶν ἀρχόν]των καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀθηνόδωρον  
 [ἐπαινεῖσαι τὸν Ἀθ]ηναῖον, ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον  
 5 [περὶ τὴν πόλ]ιν τὴν Κιανῶν καὶ εὐεργέτην· στήσαι  
 [δ' αὐτοῦ εἰκό]να χαλκῆν, δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις  
 [προεδρίαν κ]αὶ ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ εἰσπλου καὶ ἔ(κ)πλου  
 [ἀσυλῆι καὶ ἀσ]πυδῆι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ·  
 [ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδ]ικῆι Ἀθηνόδωρον ἢ τοὺς ἐγγόνους τοὺς  
 10 [Ἀθηνοδώ]ρου βοιωθεῖν αὐτοῖς Κιανούς παντὶ σθένει  
 [κατὰ τὸ δύ]νατον καὶ ταχ[ὺ δρ]αμοῦσι αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον εἶναι.

Athenodoros is described sometimes as a citizen of Imbros (Plut. *Phok.* 18, &c.), sometimes as an Athenian (Dem. xxiii. *in Aristocr.* 12); possibly therefore he belonged to a kleruch-family in Imbros. He was one of those *condottieri*, like Charidemos of Oreos and others, whose adventures are a characteristic of Greek history in the fourth century. We hear of him as serving under the Persian satraps (Polyain. v. 21), and later as the general and kinsman by marriage of Berisades, one of the claimants to the Thracian throne upon the death of Kotys in B. C. 360 (Dem. *loc. cit.*); in this position he assisted Athens to regain possession of the Thracian Chersonese, B. C. 358 (Grote, ch. 80 *fin.*). Isokrates, in an oration of B. C. 356 (viii. *de Pace*, 24), speaks of Athenodoros as having 'founded a city' in Thrace. To the same period belongs his encounter

with Charidemus narrated by Aineias, *Poliork.* 24. This was the zenith of his career, and our inscription is of this date: he was then strengthening his position by alliances with neighbouring states. Waddington compares the similar alliance (no. 138) between Hermias of Atarneus and the Erythraians. Later on we hear of Alexander imprisoning Athenodoros and others at Sardeis, and releasing him at the request of Phokion (*Plut. loc. cit.*; *Aelian, V.H.* i. 25). We may conjecture Konon (l. 2) to have been the son of some admirer of the Athenian admiral, and so named after him. For the form *βοιηθεῖν* cp. ed. 1, p. 303, line 68, and Meisterhans, *Gramm. der att. Inschr.*<sup>2</sup>, 35 foll., 45 foll.

## 127.

## Honours from Arkesine in Amorgos to Androtion:

## B. C. 357-356.

Στοιχηδόν. On a marble stelè found at Kastri (Arkesine). Radet, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xii (1888), p. 224, no. 1; Michel, *Recueil*, no. 377; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 112.

Ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳι τῶι  
 Ἄρκεσινέων· ἐπειδὴ Ἄνδροτίων ἀνὴρ  
 ἀγαθὸς γέγονε περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἄρ-  
 κεσινέων, καὶ ἄρξας τῆς πόλεως οὐδέν-  
 5 α τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ξένων τῶν ἀφ-  
 κνουμένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐλύπησε, κ-  
 αὶ χρήματα δανείσας ἐγ καίρωι τῆι π-  
 όλει τόκον οὐδένα λαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν, κ-  
 αὶ τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπορού-  
 10 [σ]ηι τῆι πόλει παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προαναλώσας ἐ-  
 π' ἐξόδοι τούννιαυτοῦ κομισάμενος οὐ-  
 δένα τόκον ἐπράξατο, καὶ τῆμ πόλιν ἐ-  
 λάττω χρήματα δαπανᾶν δώδεκα μυαῖ-  
 s παρὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον ἐποίησ-  
 15 ε, καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων εἰς τοὺς πολέμους  
 οἷς περιέτυχεν ἐ[λύ]σατο· στεφανῶσαι  
 Ἄνδροτίωνα Ἄνδρωνος Ἀθηναίου χρυ-

σῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων δραχ-  
 μῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐν-  
 20 οίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἄρκ-  
 εσινέων, καὶ ἀναγράψαι πρόξενον κα-  
 ἰ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἄρκεσι-  
 ῶν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους· καὶ εἶναι  
 αὐτῶι ἀτέλειαν ἀπάντων . . . ἐπει . . .  
 25 . αι [τοῖς] συμμάχοις ἔδοξ[εν . . . . .]  
 . . . . . σ . αὐτῶ - - -

The date of this inscription is fixed with much probability by its apparent reference to the state of things prevailing during the Social War (B. C. 357-355) and its resemblance to no. 130. From both inscriptions we see that the old rule against the placing of Athenian governors and garrisons in allied cities had broken down. Androtion, who is best known by Demosthenes' twenty-second oration (written for his accuser in B. C. 355-354), was a βουλευτής in B. C. 356-355, therefore this inscription probably belongs to the previous year. The reasons for the gratitude expressed by the people of Arkesine show what opportunities of enriching themselves, not to say of extortion, were enjoyed by Athenian officials. Cp. the note on Aristophon in no. 118, p. 235.

## 128 [104].

### Athenian Expedition to Euboeia; settlement of the Euboian cities: B. C. 357-356.

Στοιχηδόν. C. I. A. ii. 64, and iv (2), p. 22; comp. *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* 1877, pp. 209 foll.; Foucart, *Rev. arch.* xxxv. 1878, p. 227 sq.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 109; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 178, no. 181 (xlvi). The original is at Athens.

The earlier part of the inscription (containing the terms of the agreement) is lost: but the date is recovered by the mention of the archon Agathokles. On the expedition itself see Diod. xvi. 7, and Grote, ch. 86, where all the references will be found. The expedition set forth in the archonship of Kephisodotos (B. C. 358-357), and this inscription implies that

the Thebans had now been expelled from Euboeia, and envoys had been interchanged between Athens and Karystos, Eretria, Chalkis, Hestiaia respecting the revision of their contract; it does not appear that these Euboian cities had actually deserted Athens on this occasion, but some change seems to have become necessary. By *σύνεδρος* is meant a 'deputy' representing an allied city at the confederate synod. Menon was also a general in B. C. 361, see Dem. I. *in Polycl.* 12. The name of Chabrias was deliberately erased, perhaps owing to his having fallen into disgrace. For when he fell at Chios he was no longer strategos (Schäfer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*, i<sup>2</sup>. p. 168).

----- [προσαγαγεῖν τοὺς πρέ-  
σβεις εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκ(λ)ησίαν· τὸ δὲ ψήφι-  
σμα τόδε ἀναγράψαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὸν γραμ[ματέα τὸν κατ-  
ὰ πρυτανείαν· τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον δοῦναι] εἰς τὴν [στήλην τὸν τα-  
5 μίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα] ἀν(α)λλ[ι]σκο[μένων τῶι δῆ-  
μωι. πρέσβεις δὲ εἰς Εὐβοίαν πέμψαι] ἀποληψο[μένους τοὺς ὄρ-  
κους παρὰ τῶν Εὐβοίων (?). ὁμόσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς τοὺς τ[αξίαρχους κ-  
αὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τὴν βο]υλ[ή]ν· ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ [τὸν δῆμ-  
ον τὸν Καρυ]στίων καὶ [τοὺς πρ]έσβ[ει]ς τῶν Καρυστίων [καὶ τ-  
10 ὄν σύν]εδρον καὶ καλέ[σαι αὐ]τοὺς ἐ[πι] ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανε-  
ῖον] εἰς αὔριον· ἐπαινεῖ[σαι] δὲ καὶ Μ[έ]νωνα τὸν στρατηγ[ὸν κ-  
αὶ] τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς πεμφθ[έ]ντας εἰ[ς] Κάρυστον καὶ καλ[έ]σα-  
ι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτ[α]νεῖον ἐς [α]ὔριον, ἀποδοῦναι δ[ὲ] α-  
ὐτοῖς καὶ ἐφόδια τὸν ταμ[ία]ν τοῦ δή[μ]ου Δ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν [ε-  
15 ἰ]ς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ[ι]σκομένω[ν τῶ]ι δήμωι· ἀποδοῦν[αι]  
δὲ τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου κα[ὶ] τ[οῖς] πρέ[σβ]εσ[ι] τοῖς πρεσβεύ-  
[σ]ασι εἰς Ἐρετρίαν καὶ Χαλ[κ]ίδα καὶ ἐς Ἐστ[ρ]αίαν ΔΔ δραχμ-  
ὰς ἐκάστωι· ἀποδοῦναι δὲ κα[ὶ] τοῖς τὴν σ[υ]μμαχίαν πρεσβε[ύ]-  
σασιν τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου Δ δ[ρ]αχμὰς [ἐκάστωι. Ο]-  
20 ἴδε ὥμοσαν· ἢ βουλὴ ἢ ἐπ' Ἀγαθ[ο]κλέους ἄρχοντος· οἱ σ[τ]-  
ρατηγοὶ [Χα]βρίας [Αἰ]ξω(νεύς), Χά[ρ]ης Ἀγγελ(ῆθεν), Ἴφικράτης ?]  
Ῥαμνού(σιος),  
Μένων Ποτά(μιος), Φιλοχάρης Ῥαμνού(σιος), - - - ],  
Ἐξηκεστίδης Θορῖκι(ος), Ἀλκί[μα]χος Ἀναγυρ(άσιος)], - - -  
Διοκλῆς Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.



## 129.

## Restoration of the Temple at Delphoi: B. C. 356-355.

**Στοιχῆδόν.** The beginning of a long inscription on two slabs of stone found at Delphoi. E. Bourguet, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xx (1896), pp. 197 foll.; Michel, *Recueil*, 591; Dittenberger, *Sylogé*<sup>2</sup>, 140; Th. Reinach, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xx. pp. 251 foll.; Baunack, *Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.* no. 2502; Pomtow, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1897, pp. 92 foll.; B. Keil, *Hermes* 32 (1897), pp. 399 foll. See Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. p. 330.

- I. Ἐπὶ Ἀργιλίου ἄρχοντος, ὄπωρινᾶς πυλαίας, πὰρ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν λοιπὰ χ[ρ]ήματα τοῖς ναοποιοῖς τάλαντα ἵκατι, μναῖ δεκατέτορες, στατήρες δέκα. μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπεδώκαμες, ἐπιστειλάντων τῶν ναοποιῶν πάντων, τᾷ ἡρινᾷ πυλαίαι, ἐπὶ Ἑρακλείου ἄρχοντος, ἀργύριον διδόμεν· |
- II. Ἐδωκε ἃ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν, ἐπὶ Ἀριστοξένου ἄρχοντος, 5 μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου, βουλευόντων || Καλλίππου, Σακεδάλλου, Ἀργύλου τοῦ Ἰέρωνος, Ἀρισταγόρα μὲν ἀφισταμένου τᾶς ναοποιίας, | Νικομάχου δὲ τοῦ Μενεκράτεος ναοποιέοντος, ἐπιμηνιεύοντος δὲ Φιλολάου Λακεδαιμονίου, | Λαφάρεος Φωκέος, Πασίωνι ἰσχεγᾶου μνᾶς δέκα, στατήρας ἑπτὰ, ὄβολοὺς ἑννέα. Ἀρμοδίω | χαλκεῖ δεσμῶν μνᾶς ἕξ, στατήρας δεκάπεντε. ἄλλο ἔδωκε ἃ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν ἐπὶ Ἀριστοξένου ἄρχοντος, μηνὸς Ἑραίου, ὄπωρινᾷ πυλαίαι, ναοποιέοντος Νικομάχου Δελφοῦ, 10 βουλευόντων || Καλλίππου, Σακεδάλλου, Ἀργύλου, τοῖς ἐργῶναις κελεύοντων πάντων τῶν ναοποιῶν, | παρεόντων δὲ ναοποιῶν τῶνδε· Νικομάχου Δελφοῦ, Νικοτέλεος Ἀργείου, Κλεοδώρου Ἀργείου, | Ξενοτίμου Σικωνίου, Δαμοφάνεος Κορινθίου, Νικοδάμωι ξύλων ποτὶ τὰ μαχανώματα μνᾶς [ἕξ]. Πασίωνι ἄλλο τοῦ ἰσχεγᾶου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου μνᾶς δέκα, στατήρας τρεῖς, ὄβολοὺς τρεῖς. | Νικοδάμωι, Πασίωνι λατομίας μνᾶς τριάκοντα τέτορας 15 στατήρας ἵκατι ἕξ. Πραξίωι, || Ἀριστάνδρωι λιθαγωγοῖς μνᾶς δεκατέτορας, στατήρας δέκα. Κλεινίαι σκαπέτων στατήρας | ἵκατι τέτορας, ὄβολοὺς ὀκτώ. Ἀριστίωι λίθων ἀπαγωγᾶς στατήρας δέκα. τῶι μαγίρωι | τρία ἡμιωβέλια. ταῦτα ἀπελογιξάμεθα ποτὶ πάντας τοὺς ναοποιοὺς καὶ ἐγένετο | κεφάλωμα τάλαντον μναῖ ἵκατι δύο, στατήρες ἵκατι ἕξ, ὄβολοὶ ἑννέα ἡμιωβέλιον. |

III. Μετὰ τὸν λογισμόν, παρόντων τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἐπέταξαν  
 20 τοὶ ναοποιοὶ πάντες τῇ πόλι τῶν || Δελ[φῶ]ν ἀργύριον δόμεν  
 πο[τ]ῆ τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἐγ Κορίνθωι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν τοῖς μὲν ναοποιοῖς  
 εὐθὺς | μνα[s] τέτορας· τοῦτο δὲ ἐδόθη Λαβῶται, Δαμοφάνει  
 Κορινθίοις, Ξενοτίμωι Σικωνῶνι. | ἄλλο ἐδώκαμεν Λαβῶται,  
 Δαμοφάνει Κορινθίοις, Ξενοτίμωι Σικωνῶνι μνᾶς δέκα. | ἄλλο  
 Νικόμαχον ἀπεπέψαμεν φέροντα εἰς Κόρινθον τοῖς ναοποιοῖς  
 μνᾶς τέτορας. | κεφάλωμα τοῦ ἔλαβον μετὰ τὸν λογισμόν οἱ  
 25 Κορίνθιοι ναοποιοὶ καὶ ὁ Σικωνῆσιος μνᾶς || δεκαόκτω. |

IV. [Ἀπὸ] τούτου ἀνάλωμα· μαχανώματος Χαιρόλαι μνᾶς τέτορας.  
 βολίμου εἰσφορᾶς δραχμαὶ τρεῖς | [ἦμ]ιωβέλιον. πὸτ τὸ μαχά-  
 νωμα λίθων τομᾶς Θεογένει δραχμαὶ πέντε. ἀγωγᾶς τούτων  
 Ἀγάθωνι δραχμαὶ | ἑπτὰ. βολίμου στάσιος Σατύρωι δραχμά.  
 τριγλύφων δυνώδεκα ἀγωγᾶς Χαιρόλαι μναὶ τρεῖς | στατῆρες  
 ἔννεα. τοπέλου Ξένωνι μναὶ τρεῖς, στατῆρες ἕκατι δύο. ἐπιστυ-  
 30 λίων ἕξ Χαιρόλαι || μναὶ ἕξ, στατῆρες τριάκοντα. βολίμου  
 συνθέσιος ὀβολοὶ δέκα. πινακίον ὀβολοὶ τέτορες. |

V. Ἐπὶ Ἀριστοξένου ἄρχοντος, πυλαίαι ἠριωῖαι, ναοποιοὶ οὐ  
 συνῆλθον. οὐδὲ ἐπὶ Ἰερίνου ἄρχοντος, πυλαίαι ὄπωριωῖαι καὶ  
 ἠριωῖαι, οὐ συνῆλθον· οὐδὲ ἐπὶ Νίκωνος ἄρχοντος, πυλαίαι  
 ὄπωριωῖαι, | ναοποιοὶ οὐ συνῆλθον.

The accounts follow for the years succeeding down to B. C. 326–325 or later.

The Delphic temple was perhaps destroyed by the earthquake of B. C. 373 (Strabo, viii. p. 384; Diod. xv. 48, 49, &c.; see p. 216). The board of *ναοποιοὶ* occupied with the restoration of the temple was an international one, and their duty was to supervise the disbursement by the Delphic council of the funds contributed by the various Greek states. Unlike other boards of *ναοποιοὶ*, which had the general management of the temple affairs, the Delphic board was concerned only with the work of building. The board assembled at the ordinary autumn and spring meetings of the Amphiktyony. In the interval the work was superintended by the Delphic members of the board and by those others who remained in residence for that purpose (*ἐπιμηνιεύειν*). The present quotation covers

the time from the autumn meeting in the archonship of Argilios down to autumn B.C. 349. During this time the work was considerably interrupted, doubtless by the war. No work seems to have been done until July in the archonship of Aristoxenos (fixed to B. C. 351-350 by a later passage in this inscription).

I. In hand in the year of Argilios (not necessarily the year immediately before that of Herakleios, B. C. 352-351, but probably before the war, and therefore B. C. 356-355): 20 tal. 14 min. 10 stat. In the Delphic system, 35 staters or 70 drachms were reckoned to the mina. Orders to begin work were given by the naopoioi (those absent signifying their consent by letter—*ἐπιστειλάντων*) in the year of Herakleios (spring 351).

II. Year of Aristoxenos B. C. 351-350. Expenditure on mortar or some kind of brick-clay (so Keil explains *ισχυγάνου*), cranes and other engines, digging foundations (*σκαπέτων*), quarrying, importing stone and removing unsatisfactory blocks, cooking the meals of the workmen, &c. The stone (see III) came largely from the neighbourhood of Korinth.

III. Appropriation for the works at Korinth: 18 minae.

IV. Expenditure of the said appropriation, on the crane, lead (*βόλιμος* = *μόλιβος*), shaping and bringing stones for the base of the crane, bringing triglyphs (carved at Korinth?), cost of tackle (*τοπείον*), epistyle-blocks, tablets for keeping the accounts, weighing and running in (or packing for transport?) the lead, 18 minae 2½ obols. An excess of 2½ obols over the sum granted.

V. From spring B. C. 351 to autumn B. C. 349 the naopoioi did not meet, owing doubtless to the war; Diod. (xvi. 39. 8) describes the invasion of Phokis by the Thebans (the last of the series of events grouped under the year B. C. 352-351, and therefore somewhat later).

## 130 [103].

## The Social War; garrison maintained in Andros: B. C. 356

Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 62; cp. iv. (2), p. 22; Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.* 393; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 111; Michel, *Recueil*, 600. Σταιχηδόν, except l. 6.

Ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέου[s] ἀρχο[ντος ἐπὶ τῆ]-  
 s Αἰγηίδος ἐνάτης πρυτα[νείας],  
 ἦι Διόδοτος [Δ]ιοκλέους Ἀ[γγεληθ]-  
 εν ἐγραμμάτευεν ὀγδόῃ τῆ[s πρυ]-  
 5 τ[α]νείας τῶν προέδρων ἐπ[ε]ψή[φισε]  
 Διότι[μ]ος Οἰ[ν]αί[ος]. ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι  
 Ἑγή[σ]ανδρ[ο]ς εἶπεν ὅπως [ἀ]ν Ἀνδρ[ο]-  
 s ἐ[ἴ] σ[ᾶ] τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀθη[να]ίων [κα-  
 ἶ] τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀνδρίω[ν] καὶ ἔχ[ωσ]-  
 10 ιω οἱ φρουροὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀ[νδρω]ι μισ[θό]-  
 ν[ε]κ τῶν συντάξεων κ[ατὰ τὰ] δόγμα-  
 τ[α] τ[ῶ]ν συμμάχων καὶ μὴ κα[τ]α[λ]ύητ-  
 αι ἢ φυλακῆ, ἐλέσθαι στρα[τ]ηγόν ἐ-  
 κ τῶν κεχειροτονημένων [τ]ὸν δὲ α-  
 15 ἰ[ρ]ε[θ]έντα ἐπιμελείσθαι [αὐτῶν].  
 εἰσπρᾶξαι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγ[ν]ήσων χρή-  
 ματα Ἀρχέδημον τὰ ὀφ[ειλόμενα τ]-  
 οῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐν Ἀνδρωι  
 κα[ὶ] παραδοῦναι τῶι ἀρχοντι τῶι  
 20 ἐν Ἀνδρωι, ὅπως [ἀ]ν οἱ στρατιῶται  
 ἔχ[ωσι] μισ[θόν] - - - -

The decree is dated in the 9th prytany of Agathokles' year, i. e. about May 356. No wonder that early in the Social War Athens (with the approval of the synod of the league, κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῶν συμμάχων,) had placed a garrison at Andros; for Andros commanded the Kyklades and Euboeia. The stationing of a garrison and archon in Andros would in ordinary circumstances have been a breach of the terms of the confederacy (see no. 101, l. 22). The difficulty was to maintain the garrison: they were demanding their arrears of pay, and were inclined to levy requisitions upon the Andrians. Archedemos, one of the ten generals, is selected to see that the garrison is paid out of the συντάξεις of the islands (see no. 118, § 1). In l. 8 εἴ, as commonly, for ἦ.

## 131 [109].

Alliance of Athens with the kings of Thrace, Paionia,  
and Illyris against Philip: B. C. 356.

Στοιχῆδόν. A broken stelè, discovered at Athens: Kòhler, *C. I. A.* ii. pp. 405 foll., no. 66 b; cp. Kumanudes in *'Αθήναιον*, 1876, p. 172; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 114; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 188, no. 187 (xlvi). The restorations in ll. 9, 10, 15-17, 30, 33, 34, so far as not elsewhere published, are due to Dr. Wilhelm.

Diodoros, xvi. 22, mentions the alliance of the three kings against the aggressions of Philip: κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδουίαν τρεῖς βασιλεῖς συνέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὃ τε τῶν Θρακῶν καὶ Παϊόνων καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν. οὗτοι γὰρ ὄντες ὁμοροὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι, καὶ τὴν αὐξήσιν ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ Φιλίππου, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι προηττημένοι, κοινῇ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ὑπέλαβον ῥαδίως αὐτοῦ περιέσεσθαι. διόπερ ἀθροίζοντων τὰς δυνάμεις, ἐπιφανεῖς ἀσυντάκτοις καὶ καταπληξάμενος ἠνάγκασέ προσθέσθαι τοῖς Μακεδόσι. He does not give their names, nor mention their brothers, nor their alliance with Athens: for these facts we are indebted to the inscription. Coins however of king Lyppeios (whose name is written *Λύκκειος* or *Λύκπειος*) and Ketriporis are known: see B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 207, 241. Probably these kings, like Potidaia (Dem. iv. *Philipp.* i. 35), found Athens but a broken reed to trust in. The news of their submission to his general Parmenion reached Philip at the same time with the news of Alexander's birth, and the victory of his horse at Olympia (Plut. *Alex.* 3). This decree is dated July 356.

§ 1. [Γ]ραμματεὺς Λυσίας Λ[υ]σ[. . . ου Πιθεύς].  
 Συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Κετριπόρ[ω τὸν Θραῖκα καὶ το]-  
 ῦς ἀδελφούς καὶ πρὸς Λύππειον τὸν [Παίονα καὶ πρὸς Γρά-  
 β]ον τὸν Ἰλλυριόν. Ἐπὶ Ἑλπίνου ἀρχο[υτος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθω-  
 5 ντίδ]ος πρώτης πρυτανείας, ἐνδεκ[άτη τῆς πρυτανείας·  
 τῶν προ]εδρῶν ἐπεψήφ[ι]ζ[ε]ν Μνήσαρχ[ος . . . . .] ἔδοξεν  
 τῆι βου[λῆ] καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Καλλισθέ[νης εἶπεν] ἀγαθῆι τύ-  
 χηι τοῦ δήμ[ου] τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, δέ[χ]εσθ[αι μὲν τὴν συμμαχία]-  
 10 ν [ἐφ' οἷς . . .] ἴνιος λέγει ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ Κετριπόριδος τὸν ἀ]-  
 δε[λφὸν τὸν ἀ] τοῦ συνθέσθαι καὶ τὸν [ἐσταλμένον παρὰ τοῦ]  
 δήμου [τοῦ Ἀθηναί]ων Κετριπόριδι [καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ Λ]-

υππεί[ωι τῶι Παιό]γι καὶ Γράβωι [τῶι Ἰλλυριῶι, τοὺς δὲ προ]-  
 ἔδρους [οἱ ἂν λάχωσι π]ροεδρ[εύειν ἐς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησί]-  
 αν προσ[αγαγεῖν πρὸς τὸ]ν δῆ[μον . . . ὕνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τ]-  
 15 ὄν Κετριπ[ορίδος καὶ Πεισιάνακτᾶ καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας τ]-  
 ἀς ἠκούσ[ας παρὰ Λυππέιου καὶ Γράβου καὶ . . . . . τὸν]  
 π(α)ρὰ Χά[ρητ]ο[ς ἦκοντα - - -

(Here ten or twelve lines are broken or lost almost entirely.)

- - τὸ ἀρ[γύριο]-  
 ν' ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ Κετριπόριον καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφού[ς] ὅτι εἰ[σ]ιν ἄ-  
 νδρες ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τ[ὸν] δῆ[μον τὸν Ἀθηναί]ω[ν]' ἐπαινεῖσαι δ-  
 ἔ καὶ . . . ὕνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἦ[κο]ντα π[α]ρ[ὰ] Κετριπόρ-  
 30 [ιος ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας, καὶ] καλέσ[αι] ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς  
 [τό πρυτανεῖον εἰς] αὔριον' ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ καὶ Πεισιάνακ[κ]-  
 τα καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυταν[εῖον] εἰς αὔριο-  
 [ν' καλέσαι δὲ ἐπὶ ξένια τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ἦ]κοντας παρὰ τ-  
 [ῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων εἰς τ[ὸ] π[ρ]υ[τ]ανεῖον [εἰς] αὔριον' ἔὰν δέ  
 35 [του ἐνδεῆς ἦι τότε τ]ὸ ψή[φ]ισμ[α], τ[ῆ]ν [β]ουλ[ῆ]ν κυ[ρ]ίαν εἶναι.  
 [πρέσβεις ἡμῆνται]' Λυσικράτης Οἰν[αί]ος' Ἀντίμαχος  
 [. . . . . Θρά]σων [Ἐρ]χιεύς.

For ἔὰν δέ του ἐνδεῆς, &c., see no. 164, line 37. Thrason is known from Aischin. *in Otes.* 138.

§ 2. Next follows the Athenian form of oath :

[Ὅμνῶ Δία καὶ Γῆν] καὶ Ἡλίον καὶ Ποσειδ[ῶ] καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ  
 [Ἄρην, φίλος ἔσομαι] Κετριπόρι καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς Κ-  
 40 [ετριπόριος καὶ σύμμαχος καὶ πολεμ[ή]σ]ω μετὰ Κετριπόρ-  
 [ιος τὸν πόλεμον τ]ὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀδόλως παντὶ σθένει  
 κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, καὶ οὐ προκαταλύσομαι τὸν πόλεμον ἄν-  
 [ευ Κετριπόριος καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον, καὶ  
 τᾶλλα χωρία ἃ κατ]έχε[ι] Φίλιππος συγκα[τ]α[σ]τρέφομαι μ[ε]-  
 45 τὰ Κετριπόριος καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ Κρ[η]νίδ[ας] συνε[ξ]αι-  
 [ρήσω μετὰ Κετριπ]ό[ρο]ις κα[ὶ] τ[ῶν] ἀδ[ελφῶν] καὶ ἀποδώσω τα - - -

Κρηνίδες was the mining centre, the possession of which brought Philip a revenue of over 1000 talents, and the site where he founded Philippi. The name of Ketriporis' brother is perhaps Μονούνιος.

## 132 [105].

Neopolis in Thrace appeals for Athenian protection  
against Philip : B. C. 356-355.

Στοιχῆδόν. The stone is at Athens. Köhler, *Hermes*, vii. 164; *C. I. A.* ii. 66 (cp. p. 406); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*?, 115; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 193, no. 191 (xlix); Perdrizet, *Rev. d. Ét. anc.* 1900, p. 263. The stelè is broken at bottom, but surmounted by a relief (see Schöne's *Griechische Reliefs*, p. 23, pl. vii. 48): Athena extending her right hand to a female figure, over whom is inscribed ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ. This is doubtless the Virgin (Artemis) of the Thracian Neopolis; see *supra*, no. 75 and Berlin *Beschreibung d. ant. Münzen*, ii. p. 103).

[ 'Επ' ] Ἐλπίνου ἄρχουτος.

N ] ε ο π ο λ ι [ τ ῶ ν .

Δη]μοσθένους τοῦ Θεοξέου,

Δι]ο[σκ]ουρίδου τοῦ Ἀμειψίου.

5 Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄντιοχίδος ἐνάτης πρυτανείας, ἣν Λυσίας Λυσ . . . .  
. . Πι(θ)εὺς ἐγράμμάτευεν τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισε Ἀριστο-  
γεῖτω Φηγαεύς.

[Ἐδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳι Πολύευκτος εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν  
οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Νεοπολιτῶν λέγουσι Δη[μο]σθένης καὶ Διοσκ-  
10 ουρίδης, ἐψηφίσθαι τῆι βουλῆι τοὺς μὲν προέδρους οἱ ἂν τυγα-  
χάνωσι προεδρεύου[τε]ς εἰς τὴν πρώτῃν ἐκκλησίαν προσαγα-  
γεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ χρηματίσαι περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέ-  
λλουσι, γνώμην δὲ ἐψήφισθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅ-  
τι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλῆι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφισε - - -] *the rest is  
broken, but the fragments refer to the making of an alliance  
and the sending of envoys from Athens for the purpose.  
The decree closed with a grant of honours to the Neopolitan  
envoys: see the heading.*

The Thracian Neopolis had at an earlier date shown loyalty to Athens, B. C. 410 (no. 75). Philip had captured Amphipolis in the first half of B. C. 357; in the following year Pydna and Potidaia shared the same fate. Already Philip was preparing to found the city named after himself, with an eye to the gold mines of that region (see l. 45 of the preceding inscription). No wonder that Neopolis turned in despair to Athens (see Grote, ch. 86 *fin.*). Observe that the mover of this decree, Polyuektos, was the well-known political ally of Demosthenes (Plut. *Dem.* 23, &c.). The decree is dated '9th prytany of Elpines' year,' i. e. early summer of 355 B. C.

## 133 [101].

Decrees of Mylasa concerning Maussollos, Satrap of  
Karia: B. C. 367-366, 361-360, 355-354.

Found at Mylasa; now in the Louvre: Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* pt. v. 377-9; cp. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 2691 c, d, e, and vol. ii. p. 473; Froehner, *Inscr. gr. du Louvre*, 96; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 95; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 248; Michel, *Recueil*, 471; O. Hoffmann, *die griech. Dial.* iii. p. 79, nos. 176 (B) and 177 (C); Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 236. The three decrees are on one stone.

A. 39th year of Artaxerxes Mnemon (B. C. 367-366):—

Ἔτει τριηκοστῶι καὶ ἐνάτῳ Ἄρταξέρξης βασιλεύ-  
οντος, Μουσσώλλου ἑξαιθραπέοντος, ἔδοξε  
Μυλασεῦσιν, ἐκκλησίης κυρίας γενομένης, καὶ ἐπε-  
κύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί· ἐπειδὴ Ἄρλισσις Οὐσσώλλου  
5 ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ Καρῶν πρὸς βασιλέα παρεπρέσ-  
βευσεν καὶ ἐπεβούλευσε Μουσσώλλῳι, ὄντι εὐεργέτῃ  
τῆς πόλεως τῆς Μυλασέων καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ τῶι πατρὶ  
Ἐκατόμῳι καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς τούτων, καὶ βασιλεὺς  
ἀδικεῖν καταγνοὺς Ἄρλισσιν ἐξημίωσε θανάτῳι,  
10 πρᾶξαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Μυλασέων περὶ τῶν  
κτημάτων ἐκείνου κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς πατρίους·  
καὶ πρόσθετα ποιήσαντες Μουσσώλλῳι, ἐπαρὰς  
ἐποίησαντο περὶ τούτων μήτε προτιθέναι ἔτι  
παρὰ ταῦτα μηδένα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν· εἰ δέ τις  
15 ταῦτα παραβαίνοι, ἐξώλη γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν  
καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας.

B. 45th year of Artaxerxes Mnemon (B. C. 361-360):—

Ἔτει τετρωκοστῶι καὶ πέμπτῳι Ἄρταξέρξης  
βασιλεύοντος, Μουσσώλλου ἑξαιθραπέοντος,  
ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσι, ἐκκλησίης κυρίας γενομένης,  
καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί· τοὺς Πελλδέμῳ  
5 παῖδας παρανομήσαντας ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα  
τὴν Ἐκατόμῳι, ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαν-  
τος τῆμ πόλιν τῆμ Μυλασέων καὶ λόγῳι καὶ ἔργῳι,  
ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερά ἀναθήματα καὶ τῆμ πόλιν  
καὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας τῆς πόλεως· ἀδικεῖν δὲ κατα-  
10 γνόντες ἐξημίωσαν δημεύσει τῆς οὐσίης, καὶ ἐπώ[λη]-  
σαν τὰ κτήματα αὐτῶν δημοσίῃ, ἐκτῆσθαι κυρίως



τοῖς πριαμένοις· καὶ ἐπαρὰς ἐπό(ι)ήσαντο περὶ τούτων  
 μήτε προτιθέναι μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν μηδένα· εἰ δέ τις  
 ταῦ[τα πα]ραβαίνοι, ἐξώλη γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς  
 15 ἐκείνου π[άν]τας.

C. 5th year of Artaxerxes Ochus (B. C. 355-354):—

Ἔτει πέμπτῳ Ἄρταξέρξης βα[σι]λεύοντος,  
 Μουσσώλλου ἐξαιθραπέυ[ο]τος· Μανίτα τοῦ  
 Πακτύω ἐπιβουλεύσαντος Μουσσώλλῳ τῷ Ἐκατόμῳ  
 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαμβραύνδου, θυσίης ἐνιαυ-  
 5 σίης καὶ πανηγύριος ἐούσης, καὶ Μουσσώλλου μὲν  
 σωθέντος σὺν τῷ Διῖ, Μανίτα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην  
 λαβόντος ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ, ἔγνωσαν Μυλασε[ῖς], παρη-  
 νομημένου τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ Μουσσώλλου τοῦ εὐερ-  
 γετέω, ἔρευναν ποιήσασθαι εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος μετέ[σ]-  
 10 χεν ἢ ἐκοινώνησεν τῆς πράξιος· ἐλεγκθέντος (sic) δὲ  
 καὶ Θύσσου τοῦ Σύσκῳ καὶ κριθέντος συναδικεῖν  
 μετὰ Μανίτα· ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν  
 αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί, τὰ Μανίτα τοῦ Πακτύω καὶ Θύσσου  
 τοῦ Σύσκῳ προστεθῆναι Μουσσώλλῳ· καὶ τὰ  
 15 κτήματα ἐπόλησεν ἡ πόλις δημοσίη(ι), ἐπαρὰς  
 ποιησαμένη τούτων τὰς ὠνάς τοῖς πριαμένοις  
 κυρίας εἶναι, καὶ μήτε προτιθέναι μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν  
 μηδένα· εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα παραβαίνοι, ἐξώλη γίνε-  
 σθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας.

Ἐξαιθράπης is a more faithful transcription of the Persian title usually Graecized into σατράπης: Maussollos did not use the title of 'king,' although Strabo (xiv. 656) and Cicero (*Tusc.* iii. 31. 75) give it to him. The *τρεῖς φυλαί* are explained by Waddington as the three oldest and original Tribes of Mylasa: they formed a sort of *comitia curiata*, with the formal right of approving the acts of the ἐκκλησία. One of the tribes was called the Otorkondeis. Among the πρόγονοι of Maussollos (A, line 8) was Πιζώδαρος ὁ Μουσσώλου named by Herod. v. 118. For the phrase ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ (C, line 7) compare Herod. viii. 89: Manitas had resisted with armed force, and had died fighting on the spot (αὐτοῦ). The people of Mylasa, who formed part of the Karian satrapy, though enjoying a certain form of independence, were evidently anxious to demonstrate their

loyalty to Maussollos. And naturally so, for in their city was the residence of the satraps until (about 367 B.C.) Maussollos removed it to Halikarnassos. At the same time the facts here recorded betray the existence of a violent and persistent party of opposition to his government. At Iasos a similar state of affairs existed, since we have an inscription (Hauvette-Besnault and Dubois, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* v (1881), pp. 491 foll.) recording the confiscation and sale of the property [τῶν ἀν[δρῶν τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Μανσώλλωι καὶ τῆι Ἰασέων πόλει. Zeus Lambraundos or Labraundeus was one of the chief deities of Mylasa, and was worshipped at Labranda, a neighbouring village; he is represented, on the coins of the Karian dynasts of Mylasa, and elsewhere, holding a double axe (λάβρως) in one hand and a spear in the other.

## 134 [102].

## Honours to Maussollos at Erythrai: B. C. 357–355.

Στοιχηδόν. At Erythrai (Litri), on the Akropolis: Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* vol. iii. pt. v. 40; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 483; Bechtel, *Inscr. Ion. Dial.* 202; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 107; Michel, *Recueil*, 501; O. Hoffmann; *die griech. Dial.* iii. p. 47, no. 96; comp. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* v (1881), p. 503; Gäbler, *Erythrä*, p. 13; Szanto, *Gr. Bürgerrecht*, p. 16.

[Ἐδοξεν] τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι  
 δήμωι· Μ[αύ]σσωλλο[ν] Ἐ[κα]τ[ό]μνω  
 Μυλασ[ί]α, ἐπεὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς [ἐγέ-  
 νετο π[ε]ρὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἐρυ-  
 5 [θραίω]ν, εἶναι εὐεργέτην τῆς  
 [πόλ]εως καὶ πρόξενον καὶ πολί-  
 [την], καὶ ἔσπλον καὶ ἔκπλον  
 [καὶ] πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀσυλε[ῖ]  
 καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ, καὶ ἀτέλειαν κα[ὶ]  
 10 πρ[ο]εδρίην· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἀδ-  
 [τῶ]ι καὶ ἐκγόνοις, στήσαι δὲ ἀ[δ]ό-  
 οῦ κ[αὶ] εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν τῆι ἀ-  
 [γορῆ]ι, καὶ Ἄρτεμισίης εἰκόνα  
 [λιθί]νην ἐν τῶι Ἀθηναίωι, καὶ  
 15 [στεφ]ανῶσαι Μάύσσωλλον μὲν  
 [ἐκ δαρ]εικῶν πεντήκοντα, Ἄρτε-  
 [μισίην] δὲ ἐκ τριήκοντα δαρ[ει]-

κῶν, γράψ]αι δὲ ταῦτα ἐ' στήλη[ν  
καὶ στήσα]ι ἐς τὸ 'Αθήναιον'

20 [ἐπιμεληθ](ῆ)να[ι δὲ τοὺς ἐξεταστὰς].

Maussollos the satrap of Karia has been immortalized by the tomb reared in his honour by his widow Artemisia. The *Mausoleum* was discovered by Mr. Newton in 1857, and the most interesting remains of its sculpture are now in the British Museum, including a statue of Maussollos (see Newton, *History of Discoveries at Halikarnassos, &c.*; *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*; A. H. Smith, *Catal. of Sculpture* (1900), ii. pp. 65-135). Maussollos aimed at the subjugation of Ionia, and with that view made an attempt upon Miletos: Lucian, *Dial. Infer.* 24; Polyain. *Strateg.* vi. 8. Our decree reveals that he had purchased the favour of Erythrai by some great benefits, doubtless with the same intent. The date is probably between 357 and 355. Rhodes, Chios, and Kos revolted from Athens in the Social War: see Dem. *de Rhod. lib.* 191; Diod. xvi. 7. Erythrai may have been implicated in this revolt, and required the protection of Maussollos. The representation of *v* by *o* in diphthongs is common in Ionic inscriptions of the fourth century B. C.

### 135.

#### Contributions to the Cost of the Sacred War: B. C. 355-351.

In the Museum at Thebes (no. 100). Kumanudes, 'Αθήναιον, iii. pp. 479 foll.; R. Meister, *Bezz. Beitr.* v (1880), pp. 192 foll.; Larfeld, *Syll. Inscr. Boeot.* 309; Cauér, *Del.* 353; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 705; Michel, *Recueil*, 617; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 120; and *Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 2418; Blass, *Rh. Mus.* xxxvi (1881), 609.

[Τοὺ κρεῖ]ματα συνεβ[άλουθο ἐν τὸν πόλεμον, | τὸν] ἐπο[λέμιον]  
Βοιωτοὶ π[ε]ρὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἐμ Βελφοῖς | π]ὸτ τὼς ἀσεβίοντας τὸ  
ἱερὸ[ν] τῷ 'Απόλλωνος τῷ Π]ουθίω.

5

|| 'Αριστίωνος ἄρχοντος

'Αλυζῆοι - - - (a sum of money) | πρισιγείες Χάροψ Δάδωνος,  
'Αριστο . . . . . | 'Ανακτοριεῖες τριάκοντα μνᾶς πρι[σιγείες]  
. . . . . | Φόρμω, 'Αρκος Τειρείος. | Βυζάντιοι χρουσιῶ Λαμψα-  
10 κανῶ στ[ατεῖρας] || ὀγδοεῖκοντα πέτταρας, ἀργυρίω 'Ατ[τικῶ]  
δρα]]χμὰς δέκα ἑξ' ἑκαστοῦ Βυζαντίων [εἰνίξαν] | τὸ χρουσίον

Κερκίνος Είροτίμω, Ἄγ . . . . . | Δηλοπτήχω, Διωνύσιος  
 15 Εἰραίωνος. | Ἄθανόδωρος Διωνυσίω Τενέ[διος], || πρόξενος Βοιωτῶν,  
 χει(λ)ίας δ[ραχμάς]. |

Νικολάω ἄρχοντος

Ἄλυζ[ῆοι] - - - - | ἄλλας τριάκοντα μνᾶς εἴ[νιξαν]. | πρισγείες  
 Ἄλυζαίων Θεο . . . . . | [Ἀ]λεξάνδρου, Δίων Πολυλ[άου].

20 || [Ἀ]γισινίκω ἄρχοντος

Βυσζάντιοι [συνεβήλ]ονθο ἄλλως πεντακατίως στατεῖρα[s χρυ]-  
 σ]ίως Λαμφακανῶς ἐν τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν ὑ[πὲρ τῶ] | ἱαρῶ τῶ ἐμ  
 25 Βελφοῖς ἐπολέμιον Βοιωτ[οί]. σύνεδροι εἴνιξαν Σῶσις Καρατίχου,  
 [Π]αρμενίσκος Πυράμου.

In the year 351 the Thebans were obliged to seek pecuniary help from the Great King (Diod. xvi. 40). In all probability then the Greek allies had begun to fail in their contributions, so that this inscription belongs to the earlier years of the war. Byzantion was in alliance with Athens until the beginning of the Social War (B. C. 357-356), but then seceded and made an alliance with Thebes which is mentioned by Demosthenes in 340 B. C. (*Phil.* 3. 34). Alyzeia and Anaktorion, towns of Akarnania, are represented by πρισγείες, envoys, while Byzantion has σύνεδροι, representatives at the federal council. l. 11 εἴνιξαν = ἤνεγκαν. l. 14 Athanodoros' contribution must have been a private one, as Tenedos was an ally of Athens.

### 136 [110].

#### Relations of Leukon, ruler of Pantikapaion, with the Arkadians : B. C. 393-353.

Found at Kertch; now at St. Petersburg: beautifully inscribed *στοιχηδόν*. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 2103 e; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 126; Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 1889, 183; Latyshev, *Inscr. ant. orae septentr. Ponti Eux.* ii. 4 (cp. p. 290).

Ἔδοξεν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιω, Λεύκωνα

[τὸν Σατ]ύρου Παντικαπαίταν

[στεφανῶσαι or some similar honour].

This decree probably belongs to a date soon after the constitution of the Arkadian league in 369 B. C. Then, as now, a large part of Europe was fed by the harvests of the Crimea and South of Russia. Hence the importance of cities like

Olbia and Pantikapaion, and the kingdom of the (Kimmerian) Bosphoros, over which Leukon ruled B. C. 393-353 or 348. (Grote, ch. 98; Clinton's *Fasti H.* ii. Append. ch. 13, on the kings of Bosphoros; A. Schäfer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*,<sup>2</sup> i. pp. 262 foll.; Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyc.* iii. 757 foll.) His relations with Athens we shall elsewhere notice (see no. 140). Here the Arkadians, inland people as they were, vote honours to Leukon, doubtless for favouring them with corn-supplies, and their decree (in its native Aiolic) is inscribed at Pantikapaion, whether by command of Leukon, or by Arkadian mercenaries resident there. Cp. *Dem. in Leptin.* 29 foll. It is unlikely that the Arkadians here mentioned can be the inhabitants of the insignificant Kretan town Arkadia.

## 137 [108].

## Athenian monopoly of ruddle from Keos :

B. C. 360-350.

Found on the Akropolis. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 546; Michel, *Recueil*, 401; see Böckh, *Staatsh.*<sup>3</sup> ii. p. 312. Comp. Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ii (1877), 150; Pridik, *de Cei ins.* pp. 107 foll.; Ziebarth, *Hermes*, 32 (1897) pp. 612 foll.

5 § 1. *Fragment of the decree of Karthaiia* : - - [Κ]αρθαιεύσ[ι ἐ]ψ[η]φίσ[θαι - -].

§ 2. *Decree of Koresos* : [Θεο]γένης εἶπεν· δεδόχθαι [τ]ῆι βο[υ]λῆι καὶ τῶι δῆμωι τῶι Κορησίων· περὶ ὧν λέγουσι οἱ παρ'  
 10 Ἀθη[η]ν[αίων], εἶναι τῆς μίλτου τὴν ἐξ[α]γωγὴν Ἀθήναζε - - - -  
 - - - κ]αθάπερ πρότερον ἦν· ὅπως δ' ἂν κύρια ἦ[ι τ]ὰ ψηφίσματα  
 [- - - - Ἀθηναίων κ]αὶ Κορησίων τὰ περὶ τῆς μίλτου, ἐξάγειν  
 ἐμ πλοίωι ὧ[ι ἂν - - - ἀποδείξωσιν, ἐν ἄλλωι] | δὲ πλοίωι μηδενί,  
 ναῦλλον δὲ τελεῖν ὀβολὸν το[ῦ] ταλάντου ἐκάστου τοῖς ναυκλήροισ  
 το[ῦ]ς ἐργαζομένους· εἰάν δέ τις ἐν ἄλλωι πλοίωι ἐξάγηι, ἔνοχον εἶναι  
 15 τῶι νόμωι . . . || ἀ]ναγράψαι δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐς στήληι λιθίνηι  
 κα[ὶ] καταθεῖναι ἐν τῶι νεῶι τ[ο]ῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ τὸν νόμον καθάπερ  
 πρότερον εἶχε κύριον εἶναι· τὴν δὲ ἐνδειξιν εἶν[αι] πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἀστυνόμους, τοὺς δὲ ἀστυνόμους δοῦνα[ι] τὴν ψήφον περὶ αὐτῆς  
 τριάκοντα ἡ]μερῶν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον· τῶι δὲ φήναντι ἢ ἐνδείξαν[ι  
 - - - τῶν ἡμί]σ[των]· εἰάν δὲ δοῦλος ἦι ὁ ἐνδείξας, ἐὰμ μὲν τῶν

20 ἐξαγόν[των ἦι, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω καὶ τὰ τρ]|| (ι) α μέρη ἔστω αὐτῶι. ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλου τινὸς ἦι, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω καὶ - - - - εἶν]αι [δὲ] καὶ ἔφεισιν Ἄθῆνας καὶ τῶι φήναντι καὶ τῶι ἐνδεί[ξαντι· ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλλο ψηφίζονται] | Ἄθηναῖοι περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς μίλτου, κύρια εἶναι κατακομι[σθέντα τὰ ἐψηφισμένα· τε|λ]εῖν δὲ τῆμ πεντηκοστῆν τοῖς πεντηκοστολόγοις τοὺς ἔ[ισάγοντας· καλέσαι δὲ | κ]αὶ ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον τοὺς Ἄθηναίους εἰς αὔριον. ||

The πεντηκοστή was the harbour duty of 2 per cent. on imports, payable at the Peiræicus. For ἔφεισις, 'appeal,' see Lipsius, *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1898, p. 158.

25 § 3. *Decree of Iulis*: [Ἐδ]οξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἰουλιητῶν, περὶ [ῶν οἱ παρ' Ἄθηναίων λέγουσι, δεδό[χθα]ι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἰουλιητῶν, εἶναι τῆ[ν] ἐξαγωγῆν τῆς μίλτου Ἄθῆνας[ε], ἄλλοσε δὲ μηδαμῆ ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας· ἐὰν δέ τις [s ἄλλοσε ἐξάγη, δημόσια εἶναι τ] | δ πλοῖον καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐν τῶι πλοίω· τῶι δὲ φῆ[ν]αυτι ἢ ἐνδείξαντι εἶναι τὰ ἦ] μίσεια· ἐὰν δὲ  
30 δούλος ἦι ὁ μηνύσας, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω καὶ - - - - τῶν - - - - χρημ] || ἀ-  
των μετέστω αὐτῶι· τὸν δὲ ἐξάγοντα ἐκ Κέω μίλτον ἐξ[άγειν ἐμ πλοίω  
ῶι ἂν - - - ἀποδ] | εἰξωσιν· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐν ἄλλωι ἐξάγη πλοίω ἔνοχον  
[εἶναι - - - - ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλ] | λο ψηφίζονται Ἄθηναῖοι περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς  
μίλ[του - - - - - κύρια εἶ] | ναι ἂ ἂν Ἄθηναῖοι ψηφίζονται· ἀτέ-  
λειαν δὲ εἶναι - - - - - | ιου ἀπὸ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ Ἑρμαιῶνος· καλέσαι  
35 δὲ τοῦ[s Ἄθηναίους ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖ] || ον· τὴν δὲ ἐνδείξιν  
εἶναι Ἀθήνησι μὲν πρὸς τοὺς [ἐνδεκα, ἐν Ἰουλίδι δὲ εἰσαγωγέας εἶν] | αι  
τοὺς προστάτας· ὁπόσοι δ' ἂν δόξωσιν ἐξάγειν [παρὰ τὸν νόμον, τῶν  
χρημάτων τὰ μὲν ἦ] | μίσεια εἶναι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἰουλιητῶν, τὰ δ'  
ἡμίσεια [τοῦ φήναντος· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψ] | ῆφισμα [τ]ῆμ βουλήν  
καὶ καταθεῖν[α]ι ἐν τῶι λιμ[ένι - - -].

§ 4. *Names of the envoys dispatched by Athens to Keos*: Οἷδε  
40 ἠρέθησαν· Ἄνδρων ἐκ Κερα[μ]έων, Λυσια [- - - - -] || Φλυεύς,  
Εὐφρόσυνος Παιανιεύς. |

These were decrees of three of the towns of Keos, renewing and making more stringent than ever the existing treaty which forbade the export of red-ochre from Keos except only to Athens (for the reasons for this stringency, see above, no. 118, pp. 233 f.). The fourth town Ποιήεσσα is not named, and perhaps it had no mines. Μίλτος (*rubrica*, ruddle) was largely used at

Athens, both as a drug, and as a pigment in statuary, architecture, painting, and writing. The *μύλτος* of Keos was the best, according to Theophrastos, *de lap.* 51-53, though Strabo (xii. p. 540) says the same of that which came from Sinope, and Pliny (*N. H.* xxxv. 31-33) of the Lemnian. Perhaps also the monopoly in importing Keian ruddle enabled Athens to have a monopoly in exporting the various manufactured pigments of which this was an ingredient. Köhler's date, determined by the characters, may be trusted.

## 138 [100]:

Hermias of Atarneus; his treaty with Erythrai: about  
B. C. 350-345.

Στοιχηδόν. The stone, which was found at Erythrai, is in the British Museum: the text has been revised with the original. Le Bas-Waddington, vol. iii. 1536 a; Michel, *Recueil*, 12; Böckh, *Opusc.* vi. pp. 202 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 122; Bechtel, *Inschr. Ion. Dial.* 204; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xvi (1881), 197; Judeich, *Kleinias. Stud.* p. 219.

[ - - - εἰάν δὲ Ἐρυθραῖοι ἐκτιθ-  
 ὦνται τι ἐς] τὴν χώραν τῆ[ν Ἐ]ρμίου κ-  
 [αὶ τῶν ἐτ]αίρων πολέμου ἔνεκεν εἰ-  
 [ναι ἀτελ]ῆα πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτ(ω)ν  
 5 [γενόμεν]α, πλὴν ὅσ' ἂν τις ἀποδῶται·  
 [τῶν δὲ πρ]ηθέντων τελείτω πεντηκ-  
 [οστήν. ἐ]πειδὴν δὲ εἰρήνη γένηται  
 [ἀπάγεσ]θαι ἐν τριήκοντα ἡμέραις·  
 [εἰάν δὲ μ]ὴ ἀπάγηται τελείτω τὰ τέλ-  
 10 [η. ἐκτιθ]ῆσθαι δὲ ἐπαγγείλαντας δ-  
 [ικαίως]. εἶναι δὲ καὶ Ἐρμῖαι καὶ το-  
 [ῖς ἐταί]ροις εἰάν τι βού(λ)ωνται ἐκτ-  
 [ίθεσθ]αι κατὰ ταῦτά. ὁμόσαι δὲ Ἐρυ-  
 [θραίου]ς Ἐρμῖαι καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροι-  
 15 [ς· ὁ δὲ ὄρ]κος ἔστω ὅδε· Βοηθήσω Ἐρμί-  
 [αι καὶ τ]οῖς ἐταίροις καὶ κατὰ γῆν  
 [καὶ κατ]ὰ θάλασσαν παντὶ σθένει κ-  
 [ατὰ τὸ δ]υνατόν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτελ-  
 [ῶ κατὰ τ]ὰ ὁμολογημένα. ἐπιμέλεσ-  
 20 [θαι δὲ τοῦ]ς στρατηγούς. ὀρκῶσαι δ-

- [ἐ ἀγγέλους ἐ]λθόντας παρ' Ἐ[ρ]μίου κ-  
 [αὶ τῶν ἑταίρων μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶ-  
 [ν τῶν ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς ἱεροῖς τελείοι-  
 [ς· τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ πα]ρέχειν τὴν πόλιν. ὁμ-  
 25 [οίως δὲ καὶ Ἐρ]μίαν καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρ-  
 [ους ὁμόσαι δι'] ἀγγέλων βοηθήσειν  
 [Ἐρυθραίοις κ]αὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ  
 [θάλασσαν παν]τὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυ-  
 [νατόν, καὶ τὰ] ἄλλα ἐπιτελεῖν κατὰ  
 30 [τὰ ὠμολογη]μένα. ὁμνῦναι δὲ θεοὺς  
 [τοὺς ὀρκίου]ς. γράφαι δὲ ταῦτα ἐ' στ-  
 [ῆλην λιθίνη]ν καὶ στήσαι Ἐρυθραῖ-  
 [ους μὲν ἐς τὸ] ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης, Ἐ-  
 [ρμίου δὲ ἐς τ]ὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀταρνέως.

Hermias, the eunuch-slave who succeeded to the petty sovereignty of Atarneus and maintained his independence of the Persian dominion, owes his fame to the friendship of Aristotle, whose unique ode to Virtue was composed in memory of Hermias his benefactor. The facts of his life will be found in any Dictionary: the fullest account is given by Böckh on this inscription (*Kleine Schriften*, vi. 185). His league with the Erythraians belongs to the period of confusion just after the final crushing of the revolts of the satraps. In 345-344 he was treacherously captured and put to death by Mentor of Rhodes, who was appointed by the Great King to restore order in the western satrapies. The *ἑταῖροι* are 'comrades' of Hermias who commanded garrisons in towns belonging to his sway. The prospect of war explains the provision *περὶ τοῦ ἐκτίθεσθαι* (goods deposited in the territory of Hermias for safety's sake are not to be subject to import duty); cp. the Hierapytna and Priansos treaty, no. 172 (ed. 1). The phrase *τὰ ἐκ τούτων γενόμενα*, which answers to that in the Kretan treaty *τούτων οἱ καρποί*, must refer to the offspring of slaves or cattle so bestowed away. It appears that Erythrai was also independent of Persia: under Alexander and his successors it was equally favoured: see no. 164 (ed. 1), Letter of Antiochos Soter. L. 34: the shrine of Atarneus, the mythical king of Mysia.



## 138 a.

## Olynthian Refugees at Athens:

B. C. 348-347.

A fragment found on the Akropolis. Pittakis, *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* no. 3435; U. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 224; A. Wilhelm, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1900, pp. 524 foll.

- - - -  
 [περὶ ὧν οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἔδοξαν ἔννο-  
 μα ἰκετεύειν ἔν τε τῶι δῆμῳ καὶ ἐν  
 τοῖς συμμ]άχοις, [ἐπειδὴ σύμμαχοι γε-  
 νόμενοι τ]οῦ δήμ[ου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τ-  
 5 ὧν συμμάχ]ων ἐκκπεπ[τωκότες εἰσὶν  
 ὑπὸ Φιλίπ]που καὶ ἀξιοῦ[σιν Ἀθήνησιν  
 ἀτέλειαν] τοῦ μετοικ[ίου, διαχειρο-  
 τουῆσαι τ]ὸν δῆμον αὐτ[ίκα πρὸς αὐτ-  
 οὺς εἰ δοκε]ῖ δοῦναι τοῖς ἐκπεπτωκό-  
 10 σιν Ὀλυνθί]ων τὴν ἀτέλ[ειαν τοῦ με-  
 τοικίου εἴτ]ε μή· ἔ[ὰ]ν δὲ [δοκῆι αὐτῶι  
 διαχειροτο]ν[ή]σαντι διδόναι αὐτο-  
 ῖς τὴν ἀτέλει]αν, τὸν μὲν [γραμματεῖα  
 τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγράψ]αι ἐν σ[τηλῆι λιθίνῃ-  
 15 ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὰ] ὀνόματα [αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι  
 φεύγουσι ἐκπολι]ορ[κ]ηθέν[τες ὑπὸ Φι-  
 λίππου· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀ]να[γ]ρ[αφὴν τῆς στή-  
 λης κ.τ.λ.

The restorations, entirely due to the brilliant conjectures of Wilhelm, may be regarded as practically certain. Olynthos was captured by Philip in the autumn of B. C. 348. In the preceding year (that of the archon Kallimachos, 349-8) the Olynthians had become allies of Athens (Philochoros, Fr. 132, quoted by Dionysius Hal. *ad Ammaeum*, i. 9. 1); to this refers the phrase in lines 3, 4. The question on which a vote was to be taken by *διαχειροτονία* was evidently decided in the affirmative; for Theophrastos (quoted by Harpokration, *s. v. Ἰσοσελής*) refers to the granting of *ἀτέλεια* (evidently τοῦ μετοικίου) to Olynthos by the Athenians: *ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ πόλεσιν*

ὄλαις ἐψηφίζοντο τὴν ἀτέλειαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ Ὀλυνθίοις τε καὶ Θηβαίοις. Wilhelm makes the very probable suggestion that the proposer of this motion was Demosthenes himself.

## 139 [112].

## Renewal of alliance with Mytilene : B. C. 347-346.

Στοιχηδόν. Found on the Akropolis. Waddington, in *Hermes*, iv. p. 426; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 109 and iv. (2), p. 36; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 125; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. no. 203 (liii); A. Schäfer, *Demosth. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, i. p. 481.

Ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄρχοντος· [ἔδοξεν]  
 τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· Αἰγ[η]ῖς ἐπρυ-  
 τάνευεν, Λυσίμαχος Σωσιδῆμον Ἀχαρνεὺ[s ἐ]γράμμ]-  
 άτευεν· Θεόφιλος Ἀλιμούσιο[s ἐ]πεστά-  
 5 τει· Στέφανος Ἀντιδωρίδου Ἐ[ρ]οιάδης]  
 εἶπεν· περὶ ᾧ λέγουσιν οἱ πρ[έ]σβεις τ]-  
 ῶν Μυτιληναίων καὶ ὁ ταμίης [τῆς παρά]-  
 λου, καὶ Φαῖδρος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐ[π]έστει]-  
 λεν, δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ τὴν με[ν] φιλία]-  
 10 ν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν [ὑ]πάρχειν [τῶι δήμ]-  
 ῳ τῶι Μυτιληναίων [π]ρὸς [τ]ὸν δ[ή]μον τὸ]-  
 ν Ἀθηναίων [ἦν δι]έθεντο πρὸς ἀ[λλή]λας]  
 αἱ πόλεις· τὰ δ[ε] χρήματα τὰ ἐκ [τῆς συντ]-  
 άξεως [. . . . .]ο[ι]ς γιγνόμε[να - -  
 (the rest is mutilated).

It is remarked by Schäfer (*loc. cit.*), how neglectful the Athenians were—in spite of the warnings of Demosthenes—in maintaining their ascendancy in the Aegaeen and the islands. The coast of Asia Minor was of course in the hands of satraps or of native princes dependent on the Persians. Hidrieus, brother and successor of Maussollos in Karia, had seized Chios, Kos, and Rhodes (*Dem. v. de Pace*, 25). In 353 there was an oligarchic party in power in Lesbos inimical to Athens (*Dem. xv. Rhod.* 19; cp. xiii. *Synt.* 8). Kammes of Mytilene (see Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 295) is expressly called ‘enemy of Athens’ (*Dem. xl. adv. Boeot.* 37; a speech spoken in the very year of our inscription, B. C. 347-346, ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄρχοντος): Κάμμη τῷ τυραννοῦντι

Μυτιλήνης . . ὅς καὶ ὑμῖν κοινῇ καὶ ἔμοι ἰδίᾳ ἐχθρός ἐστιν. It seems that Phaidros later in the year had expelled Kammes, upon which the restored democracy renew their friendship with Athens. Envoys came from Mytilene, supported by a letter from Phaidros, and by the testimony of the 'Treasurer of the Paralos.' This last was an office of some distinction (Dem. xxi. in *Mid.* 172, 173), for, as the two state ships Salaminia and Paralos (like our Royal Yachts) were fitted out, not by the *λειτουργία* of individuals, but at the state expense, the *ταμίας* had the management of the sums voted for the purpose. The mover of this decree is Stephanos, the husband of Neaira, already known to us from no. 109.

## 140 [III].

**Honours to Spartokos and Pairisades, joint kings of Bosphoros,  
and their brother Apollonios: B. C. 346.**

*Στοιχηδόν.* Discovered at Peiræus; now in the National Museum at Athens. *Ἀθήναιον*, 1877, pp. 152 foll.; Schäfer, *Rhein. Mus.* 33 (1878), pp. 418 foll., p. 607 and 38 (1883), p. 310; *C. I. A.* iv (2), 109 b (p. 37); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 129; Michel, *Recueil*, 98. Comp. Köhler, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* 3 (1878), p. 132; Hartel, *Att. Staatsrecht*, p. 96 (*Wiener Sitzungsber.* 1878, xci, pp. 112 foll.); Dittmar, *Leipziger Studien*, 13, pp. 174, 175; Panske, *ibid.* p. 58; Wilhelm, *Gött. Anz.* 1898, p. 221. For the bas-relief at the head of the inscription, see *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* v. pl. 5.

Σπαρτόκωι, Παιρισάδηι,  
Ἄπολλωνίωι, Λεύκωνος παισί.

(Space of some eight lines vacant).

Ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄρ[χ]οντο[s]  
ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγυπίας δόδο[η]ς πρυ[τ]-  
5 α]νείας, ἧι Λυσίμα[χ]ος Σωσιδῆ[μ]-  
ου Ἀχαρν[ε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτευσεν, Θε[σ]-  
φίλος [Ἀλι]μούσιος ἐπεστάτε[ι],

Ἄνδρῶτων Ἄνδρωνος Γαργή[τ]ι[ο]ς [ε]ἰ[π]ε[ν] π[ε]-  
10 ρὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλε Σπάρτοκος καὶ Παιρ[ισά]δ[η]-  
ς καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἤκουτ[ε]ς π[α]ρ' αὐτῶν ἀπ[α]-  
γγέλλουσιν, ἀποκρ[ι]ν[ε]σθαι αὐ[τ]οῖ[ς], ὅτι ὁ [δῆ]-  
μος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινεῖ Σπάρτ[ο]κον καὶ Παι-  
ρισάδην ὅτι εἰσὶν ἄνδρες [ἀ]γα[θ]οὶ καὶ ἐπ[α]γ-

- γέλλονται τῶι δήμῳι [τ]ῶι Ἀ[θ]ην[α]ίων ἐπιμε[λ]-  
 15 ἦσεσθαι τῆς ἐκ[π]ομπῆς τοῦ [σ]ίτ[ο]υ, καθάπερ ὁ  
 πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἐπεμελεῖ[τ]ο καὶ ὑ[π]ηρετήσειν π-  
 ροθύμως ὅτου ἂν ὁ δῆμ[ος] δ[έ]η[τα]ι, καὶ ἀπαγγ[έ]-  
 λλειν αὐτο[ῖ]ς τ[ο]ὺς π[ρέ]σβ[ε]ις, ὅ[τι] ταῦτα ποι-  
 οῦντες οὐδεν[δ]ε[ς] ἀτυχήσ[ο]υσιν τοῦ δήμου το-  
 20 ὑ Ἀθηναίων· [ἐ]π[ε]ι[δ]ὴ δὲ [τὰ]ς δῶ[ρ]ε[ι]ὰς διδόασι-  
 ν Ἀθηναίοι[ς] ἄσ]περ Σ[ά]τυ[ρ]ος καὶ Λεύκων ἔδο-  
 σαν, εἶναι [Σπαρτ]ῶ[κ]ωι [κ]αὶ Παιρισάδει τὰς δ-  
 ωρειὰς ἃς [ὁ δῆμ]ος ἔδωκε Σατύρωι καὶ Λεύκω-  
 νι, καὶ στεφ[ανοῦ]ν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι Παναθη-  
 25 ναίοις το[ῖ]ς μεγ[άλ]οις ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν  
 ἑκάτερ[ο]ν· [ποιεῖ]σθαι δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους το-  
 ῦς ἀθλοθέ[τα]ς τῶι προτέρωι ἔτει Παναθηνα-  
 ῖων τῶν μεγ[άλ]ων κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου  
 τὸ πρότερον ἐψηφισμένον Λεύκωνι καὶ ἀνα-  
 30 γορεύειν, ὅτι στεφανοὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων  
 Σπάρτοκον καὶ Παιρισάδην τοὺς Λεύκωνος  
 παῖδας ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τ-  
 ὄν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς στεφ-  
 άνους ἀνατιθέασι τῆι Ἀθηναί τῆι Πολιάδι,  
 35 τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας εἰς τὸν νεῶ ἀνατιθέναι το-  
 ῦς στεφάνους, ἐπιγράψαντας· “Σπάρτοκος  
 καὶ Παιρισάδης Λεύκωνος παῖδες ἀνέθεσα-  
 ν τῆι Ἀθηναίαι, στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμ-  
 ου τοῦ Ἀθηναί[ω]ν” τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον διδόναι το-  
 40 ῖς ἀθλοθέταις εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους τὸν τοῦ  
 δήμου ταμίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα  
 τῶι δήμῳι με[ριζ]ομένων· τὸ δὲ νῦ[ν] εἶναι παρ-  
 αδοῦναι τοὺς ἀποδέκτας τὸ εἰς [τ]οὺς στεφ[ά]-  
 νους ἐκ τῶν στ[ρ]ατιωτικῶν χρ[η]μάτων· ἀναγ[ρ]-  
 45 άψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε τὸν γραμματέα τῆ[ς]  
 βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι πλη[σ]-  
 ῖον τῆς Σατύρου καὶ Λεύκωνος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀνα-  
 γραφὴν δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τριά[κ]-  
 οντα δραχμάς· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβει[ς]  
 50 Σῶσιν καὶ Θεοδόσιον, ὅτι ἐπιμελοῦνται [τῶ]-  
 ν ἀφικ[ν]ομένων Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Βόσπορον, [κα]-  
 ῖ καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανε-

Ἴον εἰς αὔριον· περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν [ὄφ-  
 ει]λ[ο]μένων τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς Λεύκωνος ὄ[πως  
 55 ἀ]ν ἀπολάβωσιν, χρηματίσαι τοὺς προέδ[ρους  
 οἱ] ἀν λάχωσι προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ [τῆι  
 ὄγ]δοῆι ἐπὶ δέκα πρῶτον μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, ὄ[πως ἀ-  
 ν] ἀπολα[β]όντες τὰ χρήματα μὴ ἐγκαλώσ[ι τῷ  
 δ]ήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων· δοῦναι δ[ὲ τὰ]ς ὑπη[ρ]εσί-  
 60 α]ς ἄς αἰτοῦσι Σπάρτοκος καὶ Παιρισ[άδης, τ-  
 οῦ]ς δὲ πρ[έ]σβεις ἀπογράψαι τὰ ὄνομα[τα τῶν  
 ὑ]πη[ρ]εσι[ῶν ὧν ἀν] λάβωσιν τῷ γραμμα[τεῖ τῆ-  
 ς β]ουλῆς· οὗς δ' ἀν ἀπογράψωσιν, εἶνα[ι ἐν τῷ]  
 τ[ετ]αγμένῳ ποιῶντας ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι [ἀν δύνω]-  
 65 νται τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Λεύκωνος.

§ 2. *Rider proposed by Polyeuktos*: Π[ολύ]ευκτ-  
 ο]ς Τιμοκράτους Κριωεύς εἶπε· τὰ [μὲν ἄλλα κ-  
 α]θάπερ Ἀνδροτίων, στεφανῶσα[ι δὲ καὶ Ἀπολ]-  
 λῶνιον τὸν Λεύκωνος ὕδν ἐκ τῶ[ν αὐτῶν].

Already, on no. 136, we have noticed the importance to the Greeks of the corn-supplies of the Crimea, and have referred to the accounts of the Kingdom of Bosporos in Clinton, *F. H.* ii. app. ch. 13; Grote, ch. 98; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, iii. pp. 757 foll. The Kingdom, called by the Greeks Bosporos, had its capital at Pantikapaion (Kertch), and it extended on the west to Theodosia, which remained independent until it was annexed by Leukon I (Dem. xx. *in Lept.* 33), his father Satyros I having died while besieging it. (Harpokr. s. v. Θεοδοσία.) Nymphaion, once a tributary ally of Athens, situated between Bosporos and Theodosia, passed into the Bosporan dominion before the end of the Peloponnesian War, Gylon, the maternal grandfather of Demosthenes, being at the time a leading resident engaged in the corn trade, and apparently responsible for the loss of the city (Aischin. *in Ctes.* 171). On the east of the strait the extent of the dominion of the Bosporan kings at this time is somewhat uncertain; but their 'sphere of influence' must have been very wide. Satyros, who succeeded his father Spartokos, reigned B. C. 433-393. He was on very friendly terms with Athens (line 23; see Isokrates, *Trapezit.* 57); and

this friendship was carried still further by his son Leukon, apparently the greatest ruler of the dynasty, B. C. 393-353, or, more probably 348 (cp. Strabo, pp. 309, 310). His favours, and also the honours he received at Athens, are mentioned by Dem. xx. *in Lept.* 29 foll. The speech against Leptines was spoken B. C. 355. Our decree is dated in April 346, in the archonship of Themistokles, and repeatedly mentions the previous honours voted to Leukon. The mover is Androtion, against whom Demosthenes wrote a speech in B. C. 354. The 'sons of Leukon' are Spartokos, Pairisades, Apollonios; the last being omitted by Androtion, and only included in the *amendment* (§ 2). Spartokos and Pairisades succeeded their father, reigning jointly, as this inscription proves. Diodoros, xvi. 52, says that Spartokos died after five years of sole reign (in 348), and was succeeded by his brother: this is refuted by our inscription, although we may concede that his reign was short, and that Pairisades soon became sole king. Diodoros' mistake probably arose from his not knowing that the two brothers reigned together, and he has probably taken Spartokos' five years from Leukon's reign, which therefore we may assume extended to 348. This explanation has the advantage of bringing the date of the embassy recorded in this decree nearer to the date of Leukon's death.

The gold crown is to be given to the kings every fourth year; 'the year before the great Panathenaia' (line 27) in the first instance coincides with the very year of the decree. Crowns received from the people in this manner had to be dedicated to the goddess Athena, into whose treasury they were thus absorbed. The ἀποδέκται (l. 43) are to advance the requisite money out of the military fund *pro tem.*, the sum being considerable, 2,000 dr., and more than the ταμίης τοῦ δήμου had in hand. Note the distinction of tense in διδόναι (the general rule) and παραδοῦναι (the present instance). The name of one of the envoys (l. 50) is connected with the city Theodosia. It appears that the envoys of Spartokos and Pairisades had come to request payment of a sum the Athenians owed them, perhaps for corn (ll. 53 foll.), and to enlist at Athens sailors to man the king's ships (ὕπηρσῆσαι). The phrase εἶναι ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ is explained on p. 244. The third brother, Apol-

lonios (ll. 66 foll.), is not otherwise known: it is clear that he was not associated in the government. The mover of the rider is mentioned in Dem. xlii. *in Phaen.* 11 and xxi. *in Mid.* 139 with his father Timokrates, who himself was the object of Demosthenes' twenty-fourth oration.

## 141.

**Fine imposed on the Phokians after the Sacred War:  
B. C. 346 foll.**

Found near the temple of Athena Kranaia near Elateia. P. Paris, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xi (1887), p. 326, no. 3; Dittenberger, *Inscr. Gr. Sept.* iii. 110 and add. p. 211; Michel, *Recueil*, 592; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 141. Comp. E. Bourguet, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xxi (1897), pp. 322, 337.

Θεός. κατεβάλοντο Φωκεῖς τ-  
 à χρήματα ἐν Δελφούς Ἄ Ἄ Ἄ,  
 ἄρχοντος [Νικ]α[σι]βούλου [τ]ο-  
 [ῦ] Αἰσχ[ρ]ίωνος Μεδεωνίου, βρυτα-  
 5 [μενόντ]ων Δελφῶν Ταραντίου, ἼΑ - -  
 - - - -, - - - - - ος, ἼΕτυμώνδα.  
 μάρτυρες Φωκέων ἸΑγήσιππος,  
 ἸΑ[ειμν]αστίδης (*sic*), Πλειστέας, Κλ-  
 εόνβροτος, Δελφῶν Πλειστέ-  
 10 [ας, - - -] τραπεζίτας.

The Phokians, after their surrender in B. C. 346, were condemned to restore the plundered treasures of the Delphic shrine in biennial instalments of 30 talents of silver. They owed more than 10,000 talents (Diod. xvi. 56. 6). The money was paid over before witnesses on either side and received by a banker (*τραπεζίτης*). Accounts found at Delphoi itself show that some abatement of the fine was made after a few years, and the instalments probably made annual. Thus in the archonship of Damochares (probably B. C. 339-338, at the earliest), *ἐνδεκάτην καταφ[ο]ρὰν οἱ Φωκ[εῖς ἀπήνεγκαν] ἰτάλαντα δέκα* (*Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xxi. p. 337).

## 142.

Honours to Amyntas, son of Perdikkas III, from Oropos :  
Middle of Fourth Century B. C.

On a slab of marble, found in the hieron of Amphiaraios at Oropos. B. I. Leonardos, *Ephem. Arch.* 1891, p. 108, no. 51; Dittenberger, *Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 4251; O. Hoffmann, *die gr. Dial.* iii. p. 17, no. 27; Michel, *Recueil*, 201; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 123.

[Θεός].

[Δρί]μων ἔλεξε· ἔδοξε

[τ]εῖ ἐκκλησίαι· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει,

[Ἀ]μύνταν Περδίκκα Μακεδόν[α

5 πρ]όξενον εἶν Ὀρωπίων

[κ]αὶ εὐεργέτην. ἀτέλειαν δὲ

[εἶ]ν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου

καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίης

ἔνκτησιν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις.

There is a similar decree (Dittenberger, *Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 4250; *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 124; Michel, *Recueil*, 202) in honour of Amyntas, son of Antiochos, who after the death of Philip II fled to the Persian king, and was killed in Egypt soon after the battle of Issos. The son of Perdikkas III is called king of the Makedonians in an inscription from Lebadeia, and Dittenberger suggests that the word βασιλέα once stood where Μακεδόνα now stands over an erasure. This Amyntas was put to death by Alexander in B. C. 335, a fact which gives significance to his association with the son of Antiochos. For the form εἶν cp. no. 95, l. 3.

## 143.

Honours from Athens to Kleomis, tyrant of Methymna :  
about B. C. 345.

Στοιχηδόν. Two fragments found on the Akropolis. Nikitsky, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* x (1885), p. 57; Köhler, *C. I. A.* iv (2), p. 48, no. 141; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 135.

- - - -

. . . κράτης κα . . . . .



. . ν ὑπὸ τῶν λη[ιστῶν· ἐψηφίσθαι τῆι  
 βο]υλῆι, τοὺς π[ροέδρους, οἱ ἂν λάχωσ-  
 5 ω] προεδρεύειν ἐν τῶι δῆμωι εἰς τῆ-  
 ν πρ[ώτην ἐκκλ[ησίαν, χρηματῖσαι [πε-  
 ρὶ τ]ούτων, γνώ[μην δὲ ξυμβ]άλλεσθαι  
 [τῆς] βουλῆς εἰ[s τὸν δῆμ]ον, ὅτι δοκεῖ  
 [τῆι β]ουλῆι, ἐπ[αινέσ]αι μὲν Κλέομιν  
 10 [Ἐ]πολλοδώρου [Μηθυ]μναίου, ἐπειδὴ κ-  
 [αὶ το]ὺς ἀλόντα[s ὑπ]ὸ τῶν ληιστῶν ἐλ-  
 [ύσατο] καὶ ποιεῖ [δ τ]ι δύναται ἀγαθὸ-  
 [ν τὸν δῆμ]ον τὸν Ἄ[θ]ηναίων καὶ εἶναι  
 [αὐτὸν πρὸ]ξενον [κ]αὶ εὐεργέτην αὐτ-  
 15 [ὸν καὶ ἐκγό]νου[s τοῦ δῆ]μου τοῦ Ἄθην-  
 [αίων - - -]

Kleom(m)is is mentioned as a ruler in Methymna about 346 or 345 B. C. in Isokrates, *Epist.* vii. 8, and is perhaps the same as the 'Kleomenes' of whom Athenaios (x. pp. 442 foll.) records, on the authority of Theopompos, that he took drastic measures against the vicious customs of his subjects. Isokrates (or the writer of the letter) also praises highly the government of Kleomis; his prudence, as we see from this inscription, led him to cultivate the friendship of Athens, some of whose citizens he had evidently ransomed from brigands.

## 144 [113].

**Encroachments of Philip upon his neighbours; Arybbas the expelled king of the Molossoi received at Athens: B. C. 343 (?).**

*Στοιχηδόν.* Found in 1840 on the Akropolis. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 115; cp. Rangabé, *Ant. Helléniques*, 388; A. Schäfer, *Dem. und seine Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 424 foll.; Sauppe, *Inscr. Mac. quatt.* pp. 17 foll.; Reuss, *Rh. Mus.* 36 (1881), p. 161; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 138; Michel, *Recueil*, 99.

§ 1. *The beginning is lost; this is part of a προβούλευμα:—*

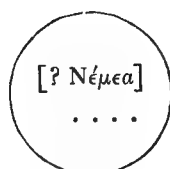
- - - [ἐπειδὴ - - - ἡ πολιτ]-  
 εἰα ἢ δοθ[εῖ]σα [τῶι πατρὶ κα]-  
 ἰ τῶι πάππωι κα[ὶ αἱ ἄλλαι δ]-

ωρειαιὶ ὑπάρχ[ο]υσ[ι καὶ α]-  
 5 ὑτῶι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνο[ι]ς [κα]-  
 ἰ εἰσι κύ[ρ]λαι· ἐπιμε[λ]εῖσθαι]  
 δὲ Ἀρύββου ὅπως ἄμ μηδ[ὲν ἀ]-  
 δικῆται τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἀε-  
 ἰ βουλευούσαν καὶ τοὺς στ-  
 10 ρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἀεὶ στρατη-  
 γοῦντας καὶ ἐάν τις ἄλλο-  
 ς που Ἀθηναίων παρατυγχά-  
 νει· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι πρόσοδο-  
 ν καὶ πρὸς βουλὴν καὶ πρὸς  
 15 δῆμον ὅταν δέηται, καὶ τοῦ-  
 ς πρυτάνεις οἳ ἂν πρυτανε-  
 ύωσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως  
 ἂν προσόδου τυγχάνει· ἀνα-  
 γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα  
 20 τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆ-  
 ς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ κα-  
 ταθεῖναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἰς  
 δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλ-  
 ης δότω ὁ ταμίης τοῦ δήμου  
 25 ΔΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψη-  
 φίσματα μεριζομένων τῶι  
 δήμωι· καλέσαι δὲ Ἀρύββαν  
 ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυταν-  
 εῖον ἔς αὔριον· καλέσαι δὲ  
 30 καὶ τοὺς μετ' Ἀρύββου ἤκον-  
 τας ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτα-  
 νεῖον ἔς αὔριον· χρηματί-  
 σαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων [ᾧ]-  
 ν Ἀρύββας λέγει.

§ 2. Decree of the people approving the προβούλευμα :—

τὰ μὲν ἄλλ-  
 35 α καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ· εἰ[ὰν δ]έ  
 τις Ἀρύββα[ν] β[ια]ίωι θ[ανά-  
 τ]ωι ἀποκ[τ]είνηι ἢ τῶν π[α]ίδ-  
 ων τινὰ τῶν Ἀρύββου, εἶ[ναι]

τὰς αὐτὰς τιμω[ρ]ίας ἀλ[περ]  
 40 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσ[ίν]-  
 'Αθηναίων ἐπιμελείσ[θαι δ]-  
 ἔ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγού[ς οἱ δ]-  
 ν στρατηγ[ῶ]σι ὅπως Ἀρ[ύββα]-  
 s καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ [κομί]-  
 45 σονται τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν [πατρ]-  
 ώϊαν.



(Underneath the three crowns is a fragment of relief, representing a four-horsed chariot, with a winged Victory alighting upon it.)

Alketas king of the Molossoi, who joined the new Athenian alliance in 377 B. C. (see no. 101), left two sons, Neoptolemos and Arybbas (see Pausan. i. 11. 1; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1; Droysen, *Hellenismus*, table iii). The mention of Neoptolemos' name in no. 101 together with his father's would show that he was the elder son, and associated already in the kingdom by his father. On the death of Alketas however the succession was disputed, and we find Arybbas and Neoptolemos dividing the kingdom between them, Arybbas being married to his brother's daughter Troas. Neoptolemos died early (certainly before 357 B. C.) leaving a son and daughter, Alexandros and Olympias; these were brought up in the house of their uncle Arybbas, who now reigned alone. Anxious to extend his influence, Arybbas secured Philip of Makedon for his niece's hand, and so gave Philip an opportunity of aggression which he was not slow to use (Justin. vii. 6). First of all he insisted on taking the child Alexandros under his own charge (Justin. viii. 6), an interference referred to by Demosthenes (*Ol.* i. 13, and *Schol.*)—and as soon as the youth was twenty years of age Arybbas was expelled and Alexandros made king as Philip's

puppet. This happened probably in 343 or 342 B. C. Arybbas fled with his two sons, Alketas and Aiakides, the latter being afterwards the father of the famous king Pyrrhos. Our inscription shows that Arybbas was welcomed at Athens, on the strength of the friendship of Athens with his father Alketas (no. 101) and grandfather Tharypas, who had been educated at Athens. Arybbas was probably never restored, but lived for a long time in exile. The exiled king takes the opportunity of recording at the foot of the slab his victories at the games. On the provision about the *πρωτάνεις* in ll. 14 foll. see no. 40, p. 66.

An Andromacha ἔξ Ἀπειρου and her husband Arybbas are mentioned in an inscription from Epidauros; the names show that we have to do with a member of the Molossian princely house, but the relationship to our Arybbas is obscure. (Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* iii. p. 41; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 803, ll. 60 foll.)

## 145 [114].

**Struggle between Athens and Philip for the Thracian Chersonese; Envoys from Elaius at Athens: B. C. 340.**

Found at the Propylaea. Στοιχηδόν. Curtius, *Hermes*, iv. 407; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 116; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 145; Michel, *Recueil*, 101; U. von Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xxii (1887), p. 242, note 3.

[Ἐπὶ] Νικομάχου ἀρχο[υ]τος, ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Π[α]νδιουλίδος ἐβδόμης [πρωτανεί-  
 α]ς, ἐνάτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρ[υτ]-  
 ανείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισ[ε]-  
 5 ν Ἀριστόμαχος ἐξ Οἴου· Ὀνήσιππο-  
 [ς] Ἀραφῆνιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἔδοξ-  
 εν τῶι δήμωι· Ἰππόστρατος Ἐτε[α]ρ-  
 χίδου Παλληνεὺς εἶπεν· εἶναι κα-  
 ἰ τοῖς Ἐλαιουσίοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπ[ερ]-  
 10 ὁ δὲ δήμος ἐψήφισται τοῖς Χερρ[ου]νη-  
 σίταις, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Χά[ρη]τα  
 ἐπιμεληθῆναι αὐτῶν ἐν τῶι [τρόπ]-  
 ωι τῶι αὐτῶι, ὅπως ἂν ἔχοντ[ε]ς Ἐλα]-  
 ιούσιοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὀρθῶς κ[αὶ] δικ[-

15 αἰὼς οἰκῶσιν μετὰ Ἀθηναί[ων ἐν X]-  
 ερρονήσῳ, καὶ καλέσαι τοῦς Ἐλα]-  
 ιουσίους ἐπὶ δείπνον εἰς [τὸ πρυ]-  
 τανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.

It was essential to her safety for Athens to retain her hold upon the Hellespont, and so secure her corn-supply from the Euxine. The Chersonese had been an ancient possession of Athens from the days of Miltiades; and in 353 B. C., after the capture of Sestos by Chares, and again under Diopceithes in 343 B. C., fresh kleruchs were sent out (Grote, ch. 87 and 90; Schäfer, *Dem. und seine Zeit* <sup>2</sup>, i. 445; ii. 451). These are the Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν Χερρονήσῳ of our decree. We are told in the *Argument* of *Dem. de Cherson.* that all the towns in Chersonese (except Kardia, which was in the hands of Philip) received the settlers with good grace—glad perhaps of any help against Makedon. As however Diopceithes was not supported with money from Athens, and had to pay and feed his troops as he could, there might naturally be complaints made to Athens against him and his kleruchs. This decree enjoins that Chares shall take care that the interests of Elaius shall be respected in the same way as had been provided for the other towns of the Chersonese. Chares was afterwards replaced by Phokion in the relief of Byzantion (Grote, ch. 90; Schäfer, *ibid.* ii. p. 512). It appears from the fact that the envoys of Elaius are invited ἐπὶ δείπνον and not ἐπὶ ξένια that they had received the Athenian citizenship. On the circumstances connected with this decree see the speeches of Demosthenes, *de Cherson.*, and *Philippic* iii.

## 146 [116].

**Tenedos rewarded (for help at Byzantion?): B. C. 340.**

Στοιχηδόν. Two fragments found on the Akropolis. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 117; Dittenberger, *Syloges* <sup>2</sup>, 146; E. Szanto, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xiv (1889), pp. 145 foll.; Wilhelm, *Hermes*, 24 (1889), p. 136, who also fills the gaps in ll. 4 and 5 from *C. I. A.* ii. 198 (as restored by Th. Reinach, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1900, pp. 158 foll.) and 75 compared with iv (2), 110 c.

[Ἐ]πὶ Θε[οφράστου ἄρχο]ντο[ς· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· Κε]κροπ[ί]ς

ἐπρυτάνευε]ν\* ὁ(γ)δοῖ[ηι τῆς πρυτανείας· τ]ῶν προέ[δρων ἐπ]εψή-  
 φισεν Σ[. . . . . | . . .]· ἐγραμμάτευεν Ἄσπετος  
 5 [Δημοστράτου Κυθήρριος· Καλλικράτης Χαροπίδου [Λαμπτρεὺς  
 εἶπε· περὶ ὧ]ν οἱ Τενέδιοι λέγουσι, [ἐπαινεῖσαι μὲν τὸν δῆ]μον  
 τῶν Τενεδίων ἀρε[τῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας | τῆ]ς εἰς τὸν δῆμον  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς συμμα[χο]υς, τῆς τε ἐν τῷ π[ρ]ῶ[σθεν  
 10 χρόνῳ καὶ . . . . . || . . . . .] βεβοηθήκασι - - - (not much seems  
 to be lost between the first fragment and the second.) [- -  
 15 - - - -]ντες· ὅπ[ως δ' ἂν κομίσωνται Τε]νέδιοι τὰ χρήμα]τα ὅσα  
 . . . . . | . . . . . ἐπι Θεοφρά[στου ἄρχοντος  
 . . . . . | . . . . . τῷ δήμ]ωι εἰς τὴμ βοή[θειαν . . . . . | . . . . .  
 ἀπ]αντα (?), δεδόχθαι [τῷ δήμ]ωι . . . . . | . . . . . τ]ὸν μετὰ  
 20 Θεόφρα[στον ἄρχοντα . . . . . || τὴν σύντα]ξιν τὴν ἐψηφισμ[ένην  
 . . . . . | . . . . .]ε καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐνκύκ[λιον διοίκησιν . . . | . . .  
 ἐν τ]ῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ μετὰ [Θεόφραστον ἄρχο]ντα κ[ομι]ζεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰς  
 τ[. . . . . | . . . . .] ταῦτα ἕως ἂν κομίσωντ[αι τὰ χρήματα  
 25 πάντ]α· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ εἶ[ναι εἰσπρά]ξαι μ[ήτ]ε στρατηγῶι  
 μήτε ἄλλωι [μ]η[θενὶ μήτε ἀργύρι]ο]ν μήτε ἄλλο μηθέν, μηδὲ τοῖς  
 σ[υνέδ]ροις εἶναι | κατα(τα)τάξαι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἕως ἂν  
 30 κομί]σωνται Τενέδιοι τὰ χρήματα ἀ[παντα ἃ κεχρήκα]||σιω ὄ[πω]ς ἂν  
 καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν [χρόνον εἰδῶ]σιν | οἷ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ ἄλλος ὅστ[ις  
 ἂν εὔ]νοους ἦι τῷ | δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθ(η)ναίων ὅτι ὁ δῆ[μος ὁ Ἀθηναίων  
 ἐπι]μελε[ῖ]ται δικαίως τοῖς πρ[άτ]τουσιν τῶν συμμα[χ]ῶν τὰ συμφέ-  
 35 ροντα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ || τοῖς συμμα[χο]ις. ἐπαιν[έ]σαι δὲ  
 τὸν δῆμον τὸν Τε]νεδί[ω]ν καὶ στεφανῶσ[αι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνω]||ι  
 ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας]ς τῆς [εἰ]ς τὸν δῆμ[ου  
 τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς συμμ]άχους. ἐπαιν[έ]σαι δὲ τὸν σύνεδρον  
 40 τῶν Τενεδίω]ν ἢ Ἀρα[τ]ον κ[αὶ στεφανῶ]σαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνω]ωι·  
 ἐπαιν[έ]σαι δὲ καὶ . . . . . τοὺς σ[υ]νέδ[ρο]υς τῶν Τενε-  
 δίων - - - .

The archonship of Theophrastos, B. C. 340-339, is memorable as the year in which Athens finally declared war with Philip, and, by following up with arms the successful diplomacy of Demosthenes, saved Byzantion and the Chersonese. In this decree, mutilated as it is, we find the people of Tenedos, and Aratos their general (?), and also their deputy at the confederate synod (*σύνεδρος*), are crowned and praised for help given (*βοήθεια*) and money lent. Tenedos is to be exempt from

tribute (*σύνταξις*) for the whole of next year, and her loan is to be repaid. Köhler is probably right in referring these services of the Tenedians to the defence of Byzantion. On the importance of Tenedos (i. e. Besika Bay) in connexion with the corn-ships from the Euxine cp. [Dem.] xvii. *περὶ τ. πρὸς Ἀλεξ. συνθηκῶν* 20.

## 147.

**Restoration of the Statue of Athena Nike: about  
B. C. 340 or 330.**

A fragment at Athens. *Στοιχηδόν*. Köhler, *Hermes*, xxvi (1891), p. 43; *C. I. A.* iv (2), p. 62, no. 198 c; p. 130, no. 513 e also belongs to the same inscription. A. Behr, *Hermes*, xxx (1895), pp. 447 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 136 and add. vol. ii. p. 812.

-----  
----- s [τ]ῶν [προέδ-  
ρων ἐπεψήφισε . . . . .]s ἐκ Κε[ρ]αμέ[ω-  
5 ν' . . . . .]s [Λα]κιάδης [εἶ]πε[ν'  
περὶ ὧν οἱ ἡιρημ]ένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμ[ο]ν λ[έ-  
γουσιν ἐπὶ τῆν] ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ἀγά[λ]μα-  
[τος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶ]s τῆς Νίκης ἣν ἀνέ[θ]εσαν  
[Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ] Ἀμβρακιωτῶν κα[ὶ τῆ]s ἐν  
10 [Ἰ]ολπαισ στρατιᾶs καὶ τῶν ἐπαν[αστ]ά(ν)τ-  
[ων τῶι δήμωι τ]ῶι Κερκυραίων [καὶ ἀπ'] Ἀν-  
[ακτοριῶν, δεδ]όχθαι τῆι βουλῆι'  
[. . . προσ]α[γα]γεῖν αὐτοὺs εἰs [τὸν δῆ]μο[ν]  
. . . . .] εἰ[s τὴν πρώτην ἐκ[κλησι]αν [κ-  
15 αὶ χρηματί]σαι, γνώμην δὲ ξυ[νβ]άλ[λ]εσ[θ]-  
αι τῆs βουλῆs εἰs τὸν δῆμον, [ὅτι δ]οκε[ῖ  
τῆι βουλῆι, πε]ρὶ τε τῆs θυσία[s τῆ]i θε[ῶ]  
θῦσαι τὴν ἱέρε[ι]αν τῆs Ἀθηνᾶs τὸ ἀρε[σ]-  
τήριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου, [ἐ]πει[δ]ὴ ὁ ἐξ[η]γη-  
20 τῆs . . . . .]s ἀργύριον τοῦ [. . .  
. . . . .] δ[ή]μου δοῦ[ναι  
ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀν]αλισ[κομένων] - - -

The monument of Athena Nike was dedicated (presumably

in the temple of that goddess, to the plans for which no. 37 relates) in commemoration of the various campaigns of Demosthenes in 426-425 B.C. (Thuk. iii. 105-112); of the victory in the summer of 425 B.C. of the democratic party in Korkyra over the oligarchs who had taken up a position in the mountains, a victory which was due to Athenian aid (Thuk. iv. 46); and of the capture later in the same year of Anaktorion by Athenians and Akarnanians from Naupaktos (Thuk. iv. 49). Some time after the middle of the fourth century the figure of Athena Nike required repairs, to carry out which a special commission was appointed; and for these changes a propitiatory sacrifice (*ἀρεστήριον*) was necessary.

## 148 [117].

Honours to one Bularchos who was Ταξίαρχος in the Chaironeia campaign: B. C. 339-338.

Found on the Akropolis: the text is from Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 562; see Kirchhoff, *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1863, pp. 9 foll.

§ 1. *End of decree of the βουλή:*

[. . . . . εἴπε]ν· δεδόχθα[ι τῆι βουλῆι· ἐπειδὴ ὁ  
ταξίαρχος τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς Βο[ύλ]α[ρχος Ἀριστοβούλου  
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γεγένηται περ]ι- τοὺς στρατευσαμένους, ἐπαι-  
νέσαι Βούλαρχον Φλυέα καὶ] στεφ[α]νῶ[σαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στ-  
5 εφάνωι ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα καὶ] φιλοτιμίας [τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον· εἶν-  
αι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν εὐρέσ]θαι παρὰ τῶ[ν φυλετῶν].

§ 2. *A decree of the Tribe, inscribed on the same stone:*

[- - - - - εἰς εἶπεν· ἐπει[δὴ Βούλαρχος Φλ-  
υεὺς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γεγένηται πε]ρὶ τὴν φυλὴν τῆ[ν Κεκροπίδα καὶ  
τοὺς στρατευσαμένους, δεδό]χθαι τοῖς φυλέ[ταις ἐπαινέ]σα[ι  
10 Βούλαρχον Ἀριστοβούλου Φλυέ]α καὶ στεφανῶ[σαι χρυσῶι] στε[φ-  
άνωι ἀπὸ - - δραχμῶν ἀνδρ]αγαθία[ς ἔ]νεκα καὶ φιλοτ]ιμ[ί]ας  
τῆς περὶ ἑαυτοῦς· παραλαβεῖν] δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφισμ[α τὸν γρ]αμμα[τ-  
έα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν καὶ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐπιγρ[άψ]αι καθά[περ  
τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς ?]



Within crowns at the foot:



The restoration of these fragments is due to Kirchhoff, who got his clue from the following dedication upon a statue-base found on the Akropolis: [Κ]εκροπίδος οἱ στρατε[υ]σάμενοι ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου ἄρχοντος | [κ]αὶ ὁ ταξίαρχος Βούλαρχ[ος] Ἀριστοβούλου Φλυεὺς Ἀθηναῖ (see Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 1214). Bularchos had fought in those earlier engagements which preceded the decisive battle: Dem. *de Cor.* 216 δις τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας, τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (Kephissos) καὶ τὴν χειμερινῇ (the one in the winter) κ.τ.λ. (χειμερινῇ can hardly mean 'in the storm' as Hogarth suggests, *Philip and Alexander*, p. 126). This was about Feb. 338 B. C.; see Schäfer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, ii. &c.<sup>2</sup>, p. 556.

### 149 [118].

**Honours to Akarnanians who had fought on the Athenian side at Chaironeia: B. C. 338-337.**

Found at the Propylaea in 1852. Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 121; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 147, and add. vol. ii. p. 812; Michel, *Recueil*, 102; comp. Meier, *Commentatio Epigraph.* ii. pt. 2, p. 98; Velsen, *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1856, p. 115; Schäfer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, iii. p. 50; Reusch, *de dieb. contion. ordin. ap. Athen.* 1880, p. 8; Schubert, *de proxenia Attica*, p. 55; A. Wilhelm, *Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 221; *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* 1900, p. 525.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρών]δο[υ] ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιουίδος δε[κ]α-  
[της πρυτανείας, ἣν Φίλιππος Ἄντιφ . . . . .  
ἐγρ]α[μμά]τευεν· Θαρρηλιῶνος τετράδι φθίνοντος, τρ-  
ίτηι [τῆ]ς πρυτανείας· τ[ῶν] προέδρων ἐ[πι]εψή[φ]ιζεν [. . .  
5 . . . . .] Ἐρχιεύς· ἔδοξεν τ[ῶ]ι [δήμωι· Ἡγή]σι(π)πος [Ἡγησίο-  
υ Σουნი]εὺς εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν οἱ Ἀ[καρνᾶν]ες λέγου[σιν] Φορ-  
μύλων καὶ Καρφίνας οἱ (ν)έ[ο]ν ἐ[λθόντ]ες, δεδόχθαι [τῶι  
δήμωι, ἐπειδὴ Φορμύλων καὶ Καρ[φί]νας, ὄντες πατρό[θε]-  
ν φίλ]οι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, διαφυλάττουσιν [τῆ-

10 ν εὐνοια(ν) ἦν οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῖς παρέδωσαν πρὸς [τὸ-  
ν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ νυνὶ βοηθήσαντ[ες μ]ετὰ δ[υ-  
νάμ]εως συνκατετάττοντο μετὰ Ἀθηναίω[ν καθ]ότι ὁ [σ-  
τρ]ατη[γ]ὸς παραγγέ[λ]λοι, ἐπαινέσαι αὐτοῖς ἀρε[τ]ῆς [ἐ-  
νεκα] καὶ στεφανώσαι ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν χρυσῶι στεφ[ά-  
15 νω]ι· [ἐ]πειδὴ δὲ Φορ[μ]ίωνα τὸν Φορμίωνος καὶ Καρ[φ]ίν[α]  
πάππο]ν ἐποίησατο (one letter erased) Ἀθηναίου ὁ δῆμος ὁ  
Ἀθηναίων κ[α-

λ τ]οῖς) ἐκείνου ἐκγόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ ἡ [π]οίη-  
[σι]ς ἐγένε[τ]ο ἀναγ[έ]γραπται ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἴ[ναι] Φορ-  
[μ]ίω[ν]ι καὶ Καρφί[ν]αι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόμοις αὐτῶν κυρία-  
20 [ν τῆ]ν [δωρε]ῖαν ἦν [ἔδωκ]εν ὁ δῆ[μ]ος Φορμίω[ν]ι τῶι πάππω-  
ι [α]ὐ[τ]ῶ[ν]· ἐλ[έ]σθαι [δὲ α]ὐτοῦ[s] φυλῆ[ν] καὶ δῆμον καὶ φρα-  
[τρίαν ὧν ἂ]ν βούλονται εἶναι. ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
[ἄλλ]ο[υ]ς Ἀκα[ρ]ῶνας τ[ο]ὺς βο.ηθήσαντας (erasure after ο) μετὰ  
Φορμίω-

[νος κ]α[ι] Κα[ρ]φί[ν]αι καὶ εἶνα[ι] αὐ[τ]οῖς ἕως ἂν κατέλθωσι-  
25 [ν, ἔκτησιν ὧν ἂν] οἰκίω[ν] βούλονται οἰκοῦσιν Ἀθήνη-  
[σιν ἀτελέσι τοῦ μετοικί]ον· κα[ὶ] διδόναι αὐτοὺς δικά[s]  
καὶ λαμβάνειν καθάπ[ερ] Ἀθηναί[ο]ι. καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς  
[ὀπόσαι ἂν] γ[ί]ν[ω]νται, μετὰ Ἀθηναίων εἰσφέρειν καὶ  
[ἐπιμελεῖσθαι] [α]ὐ[τῶν τῆ]ν βουλ[ῆ]ν τὴν αἰεὶ βουλευούσ-  
30 [αν κ]αὶ τοῖς στρατηγ[ο]ῖς οἱ ἂν αἰεὶ στρατηγῶσιν, ὅπως  
[ἂν μὴ ἀδικῶν]ται. [ἀναγρά]ψ[αι] [δὲ] τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στ-  
[ῆ]λι λιθ[ίν]ηι τὸν γραμμ[α]τέ[α] τ[ῆ]ς βουλῆς καὶ στήσαι  
[ἐν ἀ]κροπό[λει]. ἀναγράψ[αι] δὲ κ[α]ὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν Ἀκαρ-  
[νῶ]ν εἰς τὴν αὐτ[ῆ]ν στήλην ὑπογράψαντα τὰς πόλει-  
35 [ς τῆ]ς Ἀκαρναν[ίας ἧς εἰς] ἐκ[ασ]τός ἐστιν. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνα-  
[γρα]φ[ῆ]ν τῆς στή[λης] δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τῶι  
[γραμματεῖ] τ[ῆ]ς βουλῆς τ[ρ]ιάκ[οντα] [δ]ραχμὰς ἐκ [τῶν] κατ-  
[ὰ] ψήφισματα ἀναλισκομένων] τ[ῶ]ι δή[μ]ω[ι].

Φορμίωνα  
ὁ δῆ[μ]ο[s]

Καρφίαν  
ὁ δῆμος.

The fidelity of the Akarnanians to Athens has been described

on no. 105 : Livy (xxxiii. 16), speaks of the 'fides insita genti.' There is little doubt that the occasion referred to in the words *βοηθήσαντες μετὰ δυνάμεως συγκατετάπτοντο μετὰ Ἀθηναίων* was the battle of Chaironeia, which was fought in August 338 B. C. The heading of our decree is partly restored from that of *C. I. A.* ii. 122 : it is dated May 337. The exact date is restored by Haussoullier (*Rev. Crit.* 1899, p. 406)—his date being more probable than that of Reusch, which is *δευτέραι φθίν. ἔ|κτηι.* Diodoros, xviii. 3, speaks of *τοὺς ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας φυγάδας . . . διὰ Φιλίππου πείραν εἰληφότας τῆς φυγῆς*—Philip immediately after Chaironeia having subdued Akarnania and banished the partisans of Athens. Among these were the brothers Karphinas and Phormion, whose grandfather Phormion had received the Athenian citizenship. When we remember the strong affection of the Akarnanians for the Athenian general Phormion in the Peloponnesian War (*Thuk.* iii. 7), we conclude with confidence that the great-grandfather of the brothers had become the guest-friend of the famous general, and had named his son after him.

## 150.

Arbitration between Melos and Kimolos : soon after  
B. C. 338.

Carried from Kimolos to Smyrna. Le Bas, *Voy. Arch. As. Min.* iii. 1 ; *Μουσείον*, 1873, 101, no. 103 ; Prellwitz, *Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.* 3277 ; Hiller von Gärtringen, *Inscr. Gr. Ins.* ii. p. 228, no. 1259 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 428 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 14. Comp. Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 100, 101 ; R. Heberdey u. A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, p. 112 ; F. Bechtel, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, xx (1894), p. 241 ; E. Sonne, *de arbitris extern.* p. 34, no. liv ; J. Kaerst, *Rhein. Mus.* lii (1897), p. 526, note 1.

## Θεός.

Ἐκρινε ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν  
Ἀργείων κατὰ τὸ δόκη-  
μα τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν  
5 Ἑλλάνων, ὁμολογη-  
σάντων Μα[λ]ίωv καὶ  
Κιμωλίωv ἐμμενὲν  
ᾗ κα δικάσσαιεν τοὶ  
Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τῶν

- 10 [ν]άσων, Κιμωλίων  
 ἤμεν Πολύταιαν, Ἐτή-  
 ρειαν, Λίβειαν. Ἐδί-  
 κασσαν νικῆν Κιμωλί-  
 [ο]υς. Ἀρήτευε Λέων
- 15 [β]ωλᾶς σευτέρας, Ποσιδά-  
 ων γρο[φ]εὺς βωλᾶς, Πέριλ-  
 λος πεδιών.

Although the states concerned are insignificant, this is a good and early instance of the employment by the Greeks in the case of territorial disputes of external arbitration by an ἔκκλητος πόλις (cp. ed. 1, nos. 149, l. 28; 15, l. 12, &c.). The Argives were charged by the κοινὸν συνέδριον of the Greeks (by which is meant the council instituted in 338 B. C. and not the Amphiktyonic council) with an arbitration between the two islands, and decided in favour of Kimolos. The places in dispute are small islands near Kimolos. The βωλὰ σευτέρα is the council of the second half of the year. Such a division of the year into two official halves is found at Rhodes and at Tarsos as well as Argos. The Argive officials are a president (?) (ἀρήτευε = ἀφρήτευε, see Fränkel in *Sitzungsber. d. k. preuss. Akad.* 1898, no. xli. p. 3), secretary (γροφεύς), and assessor (πεδιών = μετεών). More detailed accounts of arbitrations may be found, e. g., in Michel's *Recueil*, nos. 20, 28 and 31.

## 151 [119].

## Athenian Dikasts' tickets: fourth century B. C.

Three small bronze plates,  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch thick. Exposed in the case among the other Bronzes in the British Museum.

- (1) 

Γ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΩΝ : ΑΡΙΞ
@ ΤΟΔΗΜΟΥ : ΚΟΘΩΚ

Γ. Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀριστοδή-  
 μου Κοθωκ(ίδης).

a. An owl surrounded by an olive wreath, with the letters ΑΘΗ = Ἀθη(ναίων). Published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, vol. ii. 1878, p. 536; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 885; H. B. Walters, *B. M. Catal. of Bronzes*, p. 50, no. 331.

- (2) 

□ ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ
@ ΑΛΑΙΕΥΣ      (b). (c)

 Γ. Δεινίας | 'Αλαιεύς.

a. Owl within olive wreath. b. Double owl. c. Gorgon's head. Published by Böckh, *C. I. G.* no. 208; *Bulletin, ibid.* p. 536; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 886; H. B. Walters, *op. cit.* p. 49, no. 329.

- (3) 

Ε ΑΡΧΙΛΟΧΟΣ
@ ΦΑΛΗΡΕΥΣ

 Ε. 'Αρχίλοχος | Φαληρεύς.

a. An imperfect stamp. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 901; Walters, *op. cit.* p. 49, no. 330.

For a fuller discussion of these tablets, the reader is referred to Dumont, *Revue Archéol.* 1868, p. 140; C. Curtius, *Rhein. Museum*, 1876, p. 283; S. Bruck, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xix. pp. 203 foll.; *Philologus*, 1895, pp. 64 foll.; and *C. I. A.* ii. 875-940 with the addenda in iv. pt. 2, where other tablets of the kind are given. See also Scholiast on Aristoph. *Plut.* 277; Schömann, *Opusc.* i. 203 foll.; *Attische Process*, 127; K. F. Hermann, *Gr. Staatsalterth.* 1<sup>5</sup>. § 134, 11; G. Gilbert, *Greek Const. Antiquities*, p. 397 (Eng. trans.). Every year the nine archons, assisted by a secretary, selected by lot (from among all citizens who applied) 600 from each tribe, who were thereupon drafted into ten divisions of 500 each, the odd 1,000 standing in reserve to fill up vacancies. Each received a tablet (*πινάκιον*) engraved with his name, with the number of his division (expressed by the letters A to K, so that the *πινάκια* were often called *γράμματα*), and with the owl or gorgoneion which served, so to speak, as the seal of the Athenian republic. This *πινάκιον* is not to be confused with the *σύμβολον* or voucher which the dikast received upon being impanelled to try a case, and which qualified him to receive his *τριώβολον*. Nor have the letters anything to do with the letters by which the various courts were marked. Dikasts of different divisions might be impanelled together to try the same case; and the number of dikasts impanelled varied greatly according to the nature of the case, only the number was generally an odd one. Of the three *πινάκια* printed above, the first two belonged to

the third division, the last to the fifth. They were found in tombs; and the fact that Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.* 63) describes the *πινάκια* as being made of box-wood has suggested that it was usual to bury a bronze reproduction of a dikast's *πινάκιον* with him. This would lend a grim force to the jest in *Arist. Plut.* 277: Ἐν τῇ σορῶ νυνὶ λαχὸν τὸ γράμμα σου δικάζειν, | σὺ δ' οὐ βαδίζεις; ὁ δὲ Χάρων τὸ ξύμβολον δίδωσιν. At the same time it must be admitted that the bronze tablets have every appearance of being the originals; the sectional letters, for instance, being in most cases stamped on the tablet before the name of the owner was engraved in a different hand. So that it would appear that these bronze tablets (which moreover are very uniform in shape) were delivered to the heliast by the state.

PART V

FROM CHAIRONEIA TO THE DEATH  
OF ALEXANDER

B. C. 338-323.

152 [120].

**Peace of Demades; Alkimachos the Makedonian honoured  
at Athens: B. C. 337-336.**

Fragment found on the Akropolis: it was surmounted by a relief, which still reveals the figure of Athena seated on the left. Στοιχηδόν. The text is from Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 123.

[Θ]ε[οί.]  
 Ἄλκιμά[χ]ωι, Ἀντιπάτρωι?  
 Ἐπὶ Φρυνί[χ]ου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀ-  
 κ]αμαντί[δος] ἕκτης πρυτανείας, ἡ-  
 5 ι] Χαιρέσ[τρατος] Ἀμεινίου Ἀχαρν-  
 εὖ]ς ἐγραμμάτευε[ν κ.τ.λ.].

The date is early in 336; ἕκτης alone will fit the lacuna. The names of Chairestratos' father and deme are restored from other decrees of this date (cp. no. 153, and *C. I. A.* ii. 124 foll.). It is probable that this stelè (the international importance of which is indicated by the nature of the relief) contained the grant of citizenship or of proxenia to Alkimachos and Antipatros, Philip's generals, which was probably carried by Demades: see Harpokr. s.v. Ἀλκίμαχος: Ἀλκίμαχος Μακεδών, οὗ μνημονεύει Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου (fr. 77 Blass) οὕτως Ἀλκίμαχον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον Ἀθηναίους καὶ προξένους ἐποιήσαμεθα.

Cp. A. Schäfer, *Demosth. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, iii. p. 32. Alkimachos was the brother of Lysimachos, see Droysen, *Hellenismus*, i. 1. p. 201.

## 153 [121].

Honours to some one who befriended the Athenians  
at the Court of Philip: B. C. 336.

Found on the Akropolis. Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 124; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 148; Michel, *Recueil*, 103; cp. Velsen, *Rhein. Mus.* xi. 598.

Θεο[ί].

[Ἐπ]ὶ Φρυνίχου ἄρχοντος [ἐπὶ τῆς Πα-  
νδ]ιονίδος δεκάτης πρυ[τανείας, ἧ-  
ι Χ]αιρ[έ]στρατος Ἀ[μει]νίον Ἀχαρνε-  
5 ὕ]ς [ἐ]γραμμ[ά]τευεν· τῶν προέ[δρων ἐπ]-  
ε]ψ[ή]φισεν Ἀντιφάνης Εὐων[υμ]εύς·  
Δη[μ]άδης Δ[η]μέου Παιανιεύ[ς] εἶπεν·  
ἀγα[θ]ῆι τ[ύ]χῃ τ[ο]ῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηνα-  
ίων δεδ[ό]χθαι τῶι δήμωι, [ἐ]πιειδῆ . .  
10 . . . .]σ . . . . . σανδρο . . ν [ . . . . .  
πρ]ό[ς] τὸν δήμον [τ]ὸν Ἀθην[α]ίων . . . .  
. καὶ] ἐπιμελείται Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀ-  
φικν[ο]ύμενων ὡς Φίλιππον [πράττω-  
ν ἀγα]θὸν ὃ [τ]ε δ[ύ]ναται Ἀθηναίοις π-  
15 ἀρὰ Φιλίππου, εἶνα]ι πρόξενον καὶ  
εὐ[ε]ργ[ε]τήν τ[ο]ῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων  
αὐ[τ]ὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπ-  
ιμελ[ε]ῖσθαι αὐ[τ]οῦ τῆμ βουλῆν καὶ  
τοῦ[ς] στρατηγούς ὅτου ἂν δ[έ]χεται. ἀ-  
20 να]γρ[ά]ψαι δὲ τὴν προξενίαν εἰς στ-  
ήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι [τὸν γραμ-  
ματέ]α [τ]ὸν κατ[ὰ] πρυτανείαν ἐν ἀκρ-  
οπόλ[ε]ι· εἰς [δ]ὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς σ-  
τήλης [δ]ότω ὁ ταμίης τριά[κοντα] δρ-  
25 αχμ[ά]ς] κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

With sufficient certainty the name of Demades, the famous orator, is restored as the mover of the resolution, which grants *προξενία* to a Makedonian who had assisted Demades in negotiating the peace with Philip.



## 154.

## Athens and the Peace with Alexander: B. C. 336.

A much mutilated fragment found on the Akropolis. Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, C. I. A. ii. 160; A. Wilhelm, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* xvii. 1894, p. 35, no. 1; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 149; cp. Schäfer, *Demosth. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, iii. p. 97.

-----  
 ----- οὐδ]ὲ ὄπλ[α] ἐ[π]οί[σω] ἐ-  
 5 πὶ πημονῆι ἐπ' οὐδένα τῶν] ἐμμε[ν]όντων ἐν τ-  
 [ῆι εἰρήνῃ οὔτε κατὰ γῆν] οὔτε κατὰ [θ]άλασ-  
 [σαν· οὐδὲ πόλισμα οὔτε χ]ωρίον καταλήσομ-  
 [αι οὔτε λιμένα ἐπὶ πολέ]μωι οὐθενὸς τῶν τ-  
 [ῆς εἰρήνης κοινωνούντ]ων τέχν[η]ι οὐδεμι-  
 10 [αἰ οὔτε μηχανῆι. οὐδὲ τ]ῆν βασιλε[ί]α[ν τῆν] Φ-  
 [ιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἐκγόν]ων καταλύσ[ω] οὐδ]ὲ [τὰ-  
 ς πολιτείας τὰς οὔσας] παρ' ἐκάστοις ὅτε [τ-  
 οὺς ὄρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆ]ς εἰρήν[ης ὤ]μνουν.  
 [οὐδὲ ποιήσω οὐθὲν ἐναν]τίον ταῖσδε ταῖς  
 15 [σπονδαῖς οὔτ' ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἄλλ]ωι ἐπιτρ[έ]ψω εἰς  
 [τὸ δυνατόν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις τι] παρασπον[δῆι] π[ε]-  
 [ρὶ τὰς συνθήκας, βοηθήσω] καθότι ἂν πα[ρ]α(γ)-  
 [γέλλῃ ἀεὶ τῶι δεομένωι] καὶ πολεμ[ή]σω τῶ-  
 [ι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην παρα]βαίν[ο]ν[τι] κ[α]θότι  
 20 [ἂν δοκῆι τῶι κοινῶι συνεδρ]ο[ί]ωι [κ]αὶ ὁ ἡγε[μὼ]-  
 [ν κελεύῃ - - - - -

In 336 B. C. Alexander renewed at Korinth (with the assent of all but the Spartans) the compact by which his father, two years earlier, had been recognized as champion of the Greeks against Persia. At the same time a general Hellenic peace was sworn to, in the terms preserved in our inscription. It is alluded to in the speech *περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν* attributed to Demosthenes (xvii. 10: *ἔστι γὰρ γεγραμμένον, ἐάν τινες τὰς πολιτείας τὰς παρ' ἐκάστοις οὔσας, ὅτε τοὺς ὄρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὤμνυσαν, καταλύωσι, πολεμίους εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχουσιν*, cp. lines 11 foll.). Cp. Niese, *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten*, i. p. 53.

To the same stone belongs the following fragmentary list

(no. 133 in ed. I; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 184; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 159):

----- ; Γ  
 [- - - - Θεσ]σαλῶν : Δ [- -  
 ----- ω]ν : ||  
 [- - - - 'Αχαιῶν Φθ]ιωτῶν : |  
 5 [- - - - Φλει]ασίων : |||  
 - - - - ων : || : 'Αμβρακιωτ[ῶν : - -  
 - - - - ἀ]πὸ Θράικης καὶ  
 - - - - Φωκέων : ||| : Λοκρῶν : ||| :  
 [- - - Οἰτ]αίων καὶ Μαλιέων καὶ  
 10 [- - - - 'Αλυζ]αίων καὶ Δολόπων : Γ  
 [- - - Περ]ραιβῶν : ||  
 [- - - - Ζακύνθο]ν καὶ Κεφαλληνίας : |||.

It was formerly supposed to be a list of the allies in the Lamian War (323–322 B.C.) with the number of votes allowed to each in the council. The discovery of the connexion of the list with the Hellenic peace of 336 is due to Wilhelm (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, vol. ii. p. 812).

### 155 [123].

#### Alexander in Ionia: Summer of 334 B. C.

On two of the antae-stones from the temple of Athena Polias at Priene, the fragments of which (with one exception left at Priene) are now in the British Museum: Hicks, *Gk. Inscr. in B. M.* no. 400; Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage, Inscr.* iii. 188; cp. Lenschau, *De rebus Prienensium* (Leipziger Studien, xii), p. 166; E. Pridik, *De Alex. Magni epistularum commercio* (Dorpat, 1893), p. 28.

Βασιλέως 'Α[λεξάνδ]ρου  
 Τῶν ἐν Ναυλόχῳ [κατοικούν]-  
 των ὅσοι μὲν εἰσι [Πριηνεῖ]ς ἀ[ύτ]ο-  
 [νό]μους [εἶναι καὶ ἐλευθ]έρους  
 5 ἔχ[οντας τὰ γήπεδα ? κ]αὶ τὰς οἰκί-  
 ας τὰς ἐν [π]όλει π[ά]σα]ς καὶ τῆγ  
 χώραν, ο[ἱ δὲ] Πριην[εῖ]ς - - - - -]  
 - - αἷς ἀν δέω[νται - - - - - ]  
 το δε . . . αι Μυρσ - - - - -  
 10 . αιπ - - - - - - - - - - - χώρα[ν]  
 γινώσκω ἐμῆν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κα-

τοικοῦντας ἐν ταῖς κόμαις ταύ-  
 ταις φέρειν τοὺς φόρους· τῆς  
 δὲ συντάξεως ἀφήμι τὴν Πριη-  
 15 νέωμ πόλιν κ[α] τῆμ φρου[ρὰ]ν ἐ-  
 φ' ἦ[ι - - - - -

This edict was issued by Alexander after the reduction of the Greek cities on the coast, and relates to the apportionment of lands and the adjustment of tribute. The word *σύνταξις* (contribution according to treaty) is to be contrasted with *φόρος*, which would be paid by actual subjects of the king. Priene was among the cities which submitted without a blow, and therefore might expect some favours (cp. no. 156). Naulochon is named by Pliny, *N. H.* v. 29; it was a small port at the mouth of the Maiandros (Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Arch.* pt. 5, no. 186). It would appear that Prienians resident in Naulochon are to receive privileges denied to the foreigners in the same place. The villages in the neighbourhood are decreed to stand on *βασιλικὴ χώρα*. This was the beginning of one of the royal domains, on the history of which under the Seleukids cp. (e.g.) Haussoullier, *Rev. de Philol.* 1901, pp. 27 foll.

### 156 [124].

#### Alexander in Ionia: Summer of 334 B. C.

On a large block from the Temple at Priene: now in the British Museum. Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage, Inscr.* iii. 187; Lenschau, *De rebus Priensium* (Leipziger Studien, xii), pp. 116 foll.; F. Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dialekts*, no. 142; Hicks, *Gk. Inscr. in B. M.* no. 399; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 158; Michel, *Recueil*, 1209.

Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος  
 ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν  
 Ἀθηναίηι Πολιάδι.

After the victory of Granikos, on his march southwards, Alexander seems to have spent some little time at Ephesos, where he found the Artemision (burned down on the night he was born) had nearly finished rebuilding. Strabo repeats a story (xiv. pp. 640, 641) that Ἀλέξανδρον δὴ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ὑποσχέσθαι τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἀναλώματα, ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὴν

ἐπιγραφὴν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐθελήσαι . . . ἐπαινεῖ τε (Artemidoros) τὸν εἰπόντα τῶν Ἐφεσίων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς οὐ πρόποι θεῶ θεοῖς ἀναθήματα κατασκευάζειν. We may suppose that Alexander visited Priene also, and found the Prienians less scrupulous or less wealthy (cp. Droysen, *Hell.* i. 1. 202). The temple was built by Pythios, the architect of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.

## 157 [125].

## Revolutions at Eresos: B. C. 333-301.

Fragments of a block of marble inscribed on three sides. Found at Eresos. *A* (front), *B* (side), and *C* (back). The upper parts of *A* and *C* are wanting. Στοιχιδόν. Published by Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, pp. 35 foll.; Sauppe, *Commentatio de duabus inscr. Lesb.*; Kirchhoff, in Droysen's *Hellenismus*, 1878, vol. ii. 2, pp. 363 foll.; Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 281; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 430; Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii. pp. 80 foll.; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jurid. Gr.* no. xxvii (ii. pp. 161 foll.); Michel, *Recueil*, 358; W. R. Paton, *Inscr. Gr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* ii. 526; cp. Pridik, *De Alex. Magni epist. commercio* (Dorpat, 1893), p. 34.

[§ 1. *Inscribed upon the lost upper half of A was a 'Law against the Tyrants'—νόμος κατὰ τῶν τυράννων—often referred to in the following documents.]*

§ 2. *Judgment delivered upon the tyrant Agonippos (the beginning: ἔγνω δᾶμος· ἐπειδὴ Ἄγωνιππος κ.τ.λ. is lost):*

## A.

----- πο]λ[ι]ορκήθε[ν]τας ε-  
 ἰς τὰν ἀ]κ[ρ]όπολιν [ἀ]γοικο[δ]όμ[η]σε καὶ τοῖς πο-  
 λίταις δισμυρίοις στάτηρας εἰσέπραξε [καὶ  
 τοῖς Ἑλλανας ἐλαΐζετο καὶ τοῖς βώμοις ἀνέ-  
 5 σ]καψε τῷ Δίῳ τῷ [Φ]ιλίππ[ω] καὶ πόλεμον ἐξε[νι-  
 κ]άμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλανας  
 τοῖς μὲν πολίταις παρελόμενος τὰ ὄπλα ἐξε-  
 κλάϊσε ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος [πα]νδάμι, ταῖς δὲ γύναι-  
 10 κας καὶ ταῖς θυγάτερας συλλάβων καὶ ἔρξα[ις]  
 ἐν τᾷ ἀκροπόλι τρισχιλίους καὶ διακοσί[οις]  
 στάτηρας εἰσέπραξε, τὰν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ Ἰρ[α]  
 διαρπάσαις μετὰ τῶν λαίσταν ἐνέπρησε κα[ὶ]  
 συγκατέκαυσε σώματα [τῶν] πολίταν, καὶ τὸ τ[ε]-  
 λεύταιον ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον κατ[ε]-

- 15 ψεύδετο καὶ διεβάλλετο τοῖς πολίταις· κρίνα[ι  
 μ]ὲν αὐτον κρύπται ψάφιγγι ὁμόσσαντας περ[ι  
 θ]ανάτω· αἱ δὲ κε καταψαφίσθη θάνατος, ἀντιτ[ι]-  
 μασαμ[έ]νω Ἀγωνίππω τὰν δευτέραν διαφοράν  
 ποήσασθαι, τίνα τρόπον δεύει αὐτον ἀποθά-  
 20 νην· αἱ δὲ κε καλλάφθε[ν]τος Ἀγωνίππω τῷ δίκῃ  
 κατάγῃ τίς τινα τῶν Ἀγωνίππω ἢ εἶπη ἢ πρόθη  
 περὶ καθόδω ἢ τῶν κτημάτων ἀποδόσιος, κατὰ-  
 ρατον ἔμμεναι καὶ αὐτον καὶ γένος τὸ κήνω,  
 καὶ τᾶλλα ἔ[ν]οχος ἔστω τῷ νόμῳ ὡς τὰν στάλλαν  
 25 ἀνέλονται[α] τὰν περὶ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τῶν ἐκγ[ό]-  
 νων· ποήσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπάραν ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησία α[ὔ]-  
 τ]τικῃ, τῷ μὲν δικάζοντι καὶ βαθόεντι τῷ πόλει[ε]  
 κ]αὶ τῷ δικαίᾳ εὖ ἔμμεναι, τοῖς δὲ παρὰ τὸ δίκαι[ι]-  
 ο]ν τὰν ψᾶφον φερόντεσσι τὰ ἐναντία τούτων.  
 30 Ἐδικάσθη ὀκτακόσιοι ὀγδοήκοντα τρεῖς· ἀπ[ὸ]  
 τ]αὐτὰν ἀπέλυσαν ἑπτα, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι κατεδίκασ[σ]-  
 σαν.

§ 3. Decree refusing restoration to Heroidas and Agesimenes, descendants of the earlier Tyrants :

- [Ἐ]γνω δ[ὲ] μ[ο]ς· περὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπαγγέλλουσ[ι]  
 οἱ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποστάλεντες καὶ Ἀλέ-  
 35 ξανδρος τὰν διαγράφαν ἀπέπεμψε, ἀφικόμε-  
 νων πρὸς αὐτον τῶν πρότερον τυράννων ἀπογ[ό]-  
 νων, Ἡρωίδα τε τῷ Τερτικωνεῖω τῷ Ἡραεῖω καὶ Ἄ-  
 γησιμένεος τῷ Ἐρμησιλείω, καὶ ἐπαγγελλα[μέ]-  
 νων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅτι ἔτοιμοί ἐστι δίκ[αν]  
 40 ὑ]ποσκέθην περὶ τῶν ἐγκαλημένων ἐν τῷ δάμῳ·  
 [ἀ]γάθα τύχα δ[ὲ]δοχθαι τῷ δ[ὲ] μ[ο] ἐπειδὴ . . . . . α

(The rest is lost, the bottom of A being broken).

§ 4. Judgment delivered upon Eurysilaos (the beginning is lost from the bottom of A) :

B.

-----  
 παρ]ήλετ[ο] τὰ ὄπλ[α καὶ  
 ἐξ]εκλάϊσε ἐκ τῆς [πό-  
 λι]ος πανδάμι, ται[s

- 45 δ]ὲ γυναίκας καὶ τα[ῖς  
 θ]υγάτερας συλλάβ[ων  
 ἦ]ρξε εἰς τὰν ἀκρόπο-  
 [λ]ιν καὶ εἰσέπραξε  
 δισχιλίους καὶ τρι[α]-  
 50 κοσίους στάτηρα(s), τὰ[v]  
 δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἴρα [δι-  
 α]ρπάσαις μετὰ τῶν  
 [λ]αῖσταν ἐνέπρη[σε  
 κ]αὶ συγκατέκαυσε  
 55 σώματα τῶν πολίτ[αν,  
 κ]ρίνναι μὲν αὐτον  
 [κ]ρύπται ψάφιγγι [κα-  
 τ]ὰ τὰν διαγράφαν τ[ῶ  
 β]ασίλεος Ἀλεξάνδ[ρω  
 60 κ]αὶ τοῖς νόμοις· [αἰ δέ  
 κ]ε καταψαφίσθηι [κα-  
 τ]᾽ αὐτῷ θάνατος, ἀ[ντι-  
 τι]μασαμένῳ Εὐρ[υσι-  
 λά]ῳ, τὰν δευτέραν [κρί-  
 65 σ]ιν ποιήσασθαι διὰ  
 [χ]ειροτονίας, τίνα  
 [τ]ρόπον δεύει αὐτον [ἀ-  
 π]οθάνην· λάβεσθαι δ[ὲ  
 κ]αὶ συναγόροις τὰ[v]  
 70 πόλιν δέκα, οἵτινες  
 [δ]μόσσαντες Ἀπόλ[λω-  
 ν]α Λύκειον ὄ[μ]οι σ[υνα-  
 γ]ορήσοισι [τᾶ πόλι, ὄπ-  
 πω]ς κε δύνα[νται - - -  
 - - - -

(Here the stone is broken, and there is a lacuna of several lines).

- - - - - [ποιή-  
 75 σασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπάραν  
 ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτι-  
 κα, τῷ μὲν δικ[αί]ῳ [ὑπ-  
 ἀρχο]ντι καὶ βαθόεν-

τι τᾶ] πόλει καὶ τοῖς  
 80 [νόμο]ισι τᾶ δίκαια εἶ  
 [ἔμμε]ναι καὶ αὐτοῖσι  
 [καὶ] ἐκγόνοισι, τῷ δὲ  
 [πα]ρὰ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ  
 τὰ δίκαια δικαζόν-  
 85 τεσσι (sic) τὰ ἐνάντια· ὄ-  
 μνυν δὲ τοῖς πολίτ[αις]  
 τοῖς δικάζοντας·  
 [N]αὶ δικάσσω τὰν [δίκαν  
 ὄ]σσα μὲν ἐν τοῖς [νό-  
 90 μ]οῖσι ἔνι κατ τοῖ[s νό-  
 μ]οις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐ(κ) [φιλο-  
 π]ουρίας ὡς ἄριστα κα[ὶ  
 δ]ικαίτατα, καὶ τιμά-  
 [σ]ω, αἴκε κατὰγνω, ὄρθω[s]  
 95 καὶ δι(καλ)ως. οὕτω ποιήσω  
 ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ Ἄλιον.

§ 5. Rescript of king Philip Arrhidaios (B. C. 323-317) reaffirming the judgments against the Tyrants delivered under Alexander :

Φιλίππω·  
 Αἱ μὲν κατὰ τῶν φυγά-  
 δων κρίσεις αἱ κριθε[ῖ]-  
 100 σαι ὑπὸ Ἄλεξάνδρου  
 κύριαι ἔστωσαν καὶ  
 [ῆ]ν κατέγνω φυγῆν φευ-  
 [γ]έτωσαμ μὲν, ἀγώγιμοι  
 δὲ μὴ ἔστωσαν.

§ 6. Letter of king Antigonos (Monophthalmos, B. C. 306-301) concerning the sons of Agonirros :

105 Πρότανις Μελίδωρος·  
 Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος  
 Ἐρεσίων τῆι βουλῆι  
 καὶ τῶι δήμωι χαίρειν·  
 παρεγένοντο πρὸς ἡ-  
 110 μᾶς οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρέ[σ]-  
 βεις καὶ διελέγοντ[ο],

φάμενοι τὸν δῆμον  
 κοιμισάμενον τὴν παρ' [ῆ]-  
 μῶν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἐγράφ[α]-  
 115 ψαμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀγωνίπ-  
 [π]ου υἱῶν, ψήφισμά τε π[ο-  
 ῆσ]ασθαι δ' ἀνέγνωσα[ν  
 ἡμῖ]ν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπε-  
 [σταλκέ]ναι . . .]ασσ - -

(Here is a considerable lacuna, something being broken from the bottom of B, and the upper half of C). The letter of Antigonos perhaps extends to ἔρρωσθε below.

## C.

120 . ε . . ημο . ηκαι . . . . . [ἐ]πὶ τῆ[ι] . . .  
 . . . . . ναιαι . . . . . ν Ἀλεξάν[δρωι ἐν]-  
 τυγ[χ]άν[ετε . . . . .] ἔρρωσ[θε . . . . .]

§ 7. Final decree of the Eresians reaffirming the previous enactments against the Tyrants and their families :

[Ἐ]γν[ω δᾶμος· περὶ ὧν ἂ βόλ[λα] προεβόλλευ[σε ἢ ἔδο-  
 ξ]ε ἢ [μ]ετέδ[οξε τᾶ βόλλα καὶ οἱ] ἄνδρες οἱ χ[ειροτο-  
 125 ν]ῆ[θ]εντε[s πάν]τα [τὰ γράφεντα] κατὰ τῶν τυρά[ν]-  
 νων [κα]ὶ τ[ῶν ἐ]μ πό[λει οἰκη]θέντων καὶ τῶν ἐκγ[ό]-  
 νων [τῶν τούτων παρέχ]ονται καὶ ταῖς γράφαι[s  
 εἰς[κομί]ζοισι] εἰς τὰν ἐκκλησίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ [πρό-  
 130 τε]ρον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος διαγράφαν ἀποσ-  
 [τέ]λλαις π[ροσέτ]αξε [Ἐρε]σίοις κρῖναι ὑπὲρ τε  
 [Ἀγ]ωνίππω καὶ Εὐ[ρυσ]ιλ[ά]ω, τί δεῖ πάθην αὐτοῖς, [ὁ  
 δὲ δᾶμος ἀκο]ύ[σ]αις τὰν διαγράφαν δικαστήριον  
 καλ[έ]σ(σ)α[ι]ς κατὰ τοῖς νόμοις δ' ἔκριννε Ἀγωνίπ-  
 [π]ομ μὲν καὶ Εὐρυσί[λαο]ν τε[θ]νάκην, τοῖς δὲ ἀπογ[ό]-  
 135 νοῖς αὐτῶν ἐνόχοις [ἔμμε]ναι τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ἐν τᾷ  
 [στ]άλλα, τὰ [δ]ὲ ὑπάρχοντα πέπρασθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ  
 [τ]ὸν νόμον, ἐπιστέλλ[αντος] δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ ὑ-  
 πὲρ τῶν Ἀπολλο[δ]ωρε[ῶν] παίδων καὶ τῶν κασιγνήτων [αὐ-  
 140 τ]ῶ, Ἐρμωνος καὶ Ἡραῖω, τῶν πρότερον τυραννη-



ναι τὸν δάμον, πότερο[ν δόκ]ει καταπορεύεσθ[αι]  
 αὐτοῖς ἢ μή, [ὁ] δὲ δάμος ἀκούσαις τα(ί)ς διαγράφα[ις]  
 δικαστήριόν τε αὐτοῖσι συνάγαγε κατὰ τὸν [νό-  
 μ]ον καὶ τὰν διαγράφαν τῷ βασιλεὸς Ἀλεξάνδρ[ω],  
 145 ὁ ἔ]γνω λό[γ]ων ῥηθέντων παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τόν τε νό-  
 [μο]ν τὸν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων κύριον ἔμμεναι κα[ὶ]  
 φ]εύγην αὐτοῖς κατ [τὰ]μ πόλιω· δέδοχθαι τῷ δάμ[ω],  
 κύριον μὲν ἔμμεναι κατὰ [τῶν] τυράννων καὶ τῶ[ν]  
 ἐ]μ πόλι οἰκηθέντων καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν τού-  
 150 [τ]ων τόν τε νόμον τὸμ περὶ [τ]ῶν τυράννων γεγράμ-  
 [μ]ενον ἐν τῇ στάλλα τῇ [παλαί]α καὶ ταῖς διαγρά-  
 [φ]αῖς τῶν βασιλέων ταῖς κατὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ ψα-  
 [φ]ίσματα τὰ πρότερον γράφεντα ὑπὸ τῶν προγό-  
 [ν]ων καὶ ταῖς ψαφοφο(ρ)ῖαις ταῖς κατὰ τῶν τυράννων· [αἰ  
 155 δ]έ κέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ἀλίσκηται τῶν τυράννω[ν ἢ]  
 τῶν ἐμ πόλι οἰκηθέντων ἢ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν το[ύ]-  
 των τις ἐπιβαίνων ἐπὶ τὰν γᾶν τὰν Ἑρεσίων, [ἄφ-  
 ν]ω? τὸν δᾶ[μο]ν βο(λ)λεύσασθαι καὶ πε - - (*the end is lost*).

On the general political movements of this period—the growth of oligarchies and tyrannies in the Aegaeon under the Persian influence, the factions fomented by Philip, the motive and the results of Alexander's edict recalling the exiles—the reader is referred to the notes on nos. 139, 158, 159, and 164. As to Eresos, it joined the new Athenian Confederacy in 378 B. C. (no. 101), and no doubt remained democratic until the Social War in B. C. 357. Then followed a time during which, under Persian influence, Eresos was in the hands of 'tyrants.' We gather from lines 37, 38, and 138 that three of these earlier tyrants were brothers named Hermon, Heraios, and Apollodoros, who perhaps succeeded each other in power: for Ἀπολλοδώρειον = νῶν τῶν Ἀπολλοδώρου, and lines 37 foll. are equivalent to Ἡρωῖδα τοῦ Τερτικῶνος τοῦ Ἡραίου καὶ Ἀγησιμένους τοῦ Ἑρμησίλα (Ἀπολλοδώρειος, Τερτικῶνειος, Ἡραῖος being Aiolic patronymics). That Apollodoros was tyrant last of the three explains the circumstance that his children are classed with grandchildren of the other two (lines 137–139): indeed they may have been too young in 324 B. C. to join personally in the application referred to in § 3, where they are not

named; although they were virtually included in that application (line 138). It does not appear in what way this dynasty came to an end; probably by a revolution, in which perhaps Theophrastos the philosopher had a hand (see *Plut. adv. Coloten* 33, p. 1126: Θεοφράστῳ δις ἐλευθερώσαι τυραννομένην, sc. τὴν πατρίδα; also *Non posse suan. vini sec. Ep.* 15, p. 1097: Θεοφράστου καὶ Φανίου τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος ἐκκοψάντων τυράννους). If however the democracy was for a time restored, another tyrant soon appeared in Eurysilaos (lines 63, 131, 134), a man of a different family. Following Droysen's reconstruction of the history, we find that Eurysilaos must have been expelled and the democracy restored by the time of the battle of Granikos, 334 B.C. In the 'Demosthenic' oration, *De foed. Alex.* 7 (spoken about B.C. 333), Alexander is taunted with his inconsistency in maintaining tyrants in Messenia, and expelling them from Eresos.

The liberation by Alexander in 334 B.C. was shortlived; for in 333 the Persian admiral Memnon (*Arrian*, ii. 1, 1) sailed against Lesbos to detach the towns from Alexander. The iniquities of Agonippos form the subject of § 2. He was of course violently anti-Makedonian, and destroys an altar of Zeus Philippios, erected in honour of Alexander's father<sup>1</sup>. After a short but cruel reign, he flies to Alexander with a lying version of his late proceedings. How he was received we are not told; but the Eresians formally declare him an outlaw (lines 1-32). The *λαίσται* or *λησταί* are the mercenary troops left behind by Memnon.

The date of § 3 is just after the recall of the exiles in B.C. 324. Heroidas and Agesimenes, grandsons of the former tyrants, Heraios and Hermon, had appealed to Alexander to be allowed the benefit of this edict. Many such applicants flocked to Alexander at Babylon (cp. *Diod.* xvii. 113). The Eresians, by permission of Alexander, refused them return—though the decree is here broken off.

§ 4 belongs to the same date as § 3. It records a trial of

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Dem.* xix. *de fals. leg.* 192: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶλεν Ὀλυμπον Φίλιππος, Ὀλύμπι' ἐποίει, εἰς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας συνήγαγεν. We are reminded of Hadrian and the Olympieion and of the Olympia which were everywhere established in honour of this new Zeus.

Eurysilaos. He too had claimed restoration under the edict of recall. But Alexander had dealt with him as with other tyrants in a similar case: *τοὺς τυράννους μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐς τὰς πόλεις πέμπει, χρήσασθαι ὅπως ἐθέλοιεν* (Arrian, iii. 2. 7), and the Eresians, deciding this time not only by their native laws (line 28) but *κατὰ τὰν διαγράφαν τῷ | βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρῳ | καὶ τοῖς νόμοις* (lines 57 foll.), reaffirm their condemnation of Eurysilaos.

§ 5 informs us that some of the exiles already named, after failing to obtain restoration under Alexander, applied in vain to his successor Philip Arrhidaios (B. C. 323-317) to reverse the previous decisions given above.

§ 6. The sons of Agonippos (who is now dead) being banished from Eresos, had applied to King Antigonos Monophthalmos (B. C. 306-301), who had written a letter in their favour to the Eresians (lines 114 foll.). The Eresians had replied with a decree (line 116), which they had forwarded to Antigonos (lines 109 foll.). To their decree the king replies in this letter, in which no doubt he gives his consent to the perpetual banishment of the sons of Agonippos.

§ 7 is a final decree of the Eresian people, based on a *προβούλευμα* (line 123), reciting and reaffirming their previous decisions and enactments against 'the tyrants'; both those members of their families who had once lived in the city (*οικηθέντων*, lines 149, 156), and their children who had always lived in exile. It should be remembered that restoration from exile meant not only recovery of political status, and return to native soil, but also the recovery of lands and property confiscated.

## 158.

## Letter of Alexander the Great to the Chians:

B. C. 333-332.

On a limestone slab found at Chios. G. Zolotas, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, v (1893), 7; B. Haussoullier, *Rev. de Phil.* xvii (1893), 188; Michel, *Recueil*, 33; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 150; cp. E. Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 49 (1894), pp. 623 foll.; Köhler, *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1898, pp. 124, 125.

[Ἐπ]ὶ Δεισιθέο[υ] πρυτάνεος παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀλ[εξάνδρ]ου Χίω[ν]  
τῶι | δῆ[μ]ωι. | Τοὺς φυγάδας τοὺς ἐκ Χίου κατιέναι πάντα, πολί-

τεομα δὲ [εἶ]ναι ἐν Χίῳι δῆμον. αἰρεθῆναι δὲ νομογράφους, οἷτινες  
 5 γράψουσιν καὶ διορθώσουσι τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως μὴδὲν ἐναντίον ἦι  
 τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μὴδὲ τῇ τῶν φυγάδων καθόδῳ· τὰ δὲ διορθωθέντα  
 ἢ γραφέντα ἐπαναφέρεσθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. | παρέχειν δὲ Χίους  
 10 τριήρεις εἴκοσι πεπληρωμένας τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν τέλεσι, ταύτας δὲ πλείν  
 συμπλή. τῶν δὲ προδόντων | τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν πόλιν ὅσοι μὲν  
 ἂν προξέλθωσιν, φεόγειν | αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς  
 εἰρήνης κοινωνουσῶν καὶ εἶναι ἀγωγίμους κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν  
 'Ελλήνων' ὅσοι | δ' ἂν ἐγκαταλειφθῶσιν, ἐπανάγεσθαι καὶ κρί-  
 15 νεσθαι ἐν τῷ τῶν 'Ελλήνων' συνεδρίῳ. εἰδὲν δὲ τι ἀντιλέγεται  
 τοῖς κατεληλυθόσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, κρίνεσθαι περὶ τοῦτο  
 αὐτοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν. μέχρι ἂν διαλλαγῶσι Χίῳι, φυλακὴν εἶναι παρ'  
 αὐτοῖς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅση ἂν ἰκανὴ ἦι· τρέφειν  
 δὲ | ταύτην Χίους.

Chios in 351-350 B. C. was under an oligarchy (Dem. xv. *de Rhod. lib.* 19). In the spring of B. C. 333 the Persian admiral Memnon, with the help of the oligarchical party, occupied Chios, in which in the previous year the oligarchy, owing to the failure of Persian power, had been replaced by a democracy. Memnon first, and then his nephew Pharnabazos defended the city, which was finally handed over to the Makedonian besiegers by the popular party (spring of B. C. 332?). The leaders of the oligarchical party were banished to Egypt, to the island of Elephantine (Arrian, iii. 2. 3-7; Q. Curtius, iii. 1. 3). This rescript was probably written before the recovery of the city. Köhler even holds that it was in the first instance addressed not to the Chians but to the Makedonian admiral Hegelochos; the address as at present, and also the Ionic colouring, were added by the Chians in transferring the document to stone. It was part of Alexander's policy to restore democracies (Arrian, i. 18. 2). The peace mentioned in line 12 is the peace of Korinth. The oligarchs who failed to make good their escape were to be tried as Medizers before the general council of the Greeks which met at the Isthmos. The garrison here mentioned was the subject of a complaint made by the Chians to Alexander in 331 B. C., and was probably then removed (Q. Curtius, iv. 8. 12).

## 159 [126].

## Revolutions at Erythrai in the time of Alexander :

B. C. 333-332.

Inscription found at Chios, whither it had been carried from Erythrai ; now at Vienna. Kirchhoff, *Monatsb. d. Berlin. Akad.* 1863, p. 265 ; Sauppe, *Commentatio de duabus inscriptionibus Lesbicis*, p. 30 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 364 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 139 ; cp. A. Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 228 ; 1900, p. 104 ; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jurid. Gr.* ii. p. 177.

§ 1. Decree for the restoration and decoration of the statue of Philitos the tyrannicide :

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. Ζώϊλος Χιά-  
 δου εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίαι τῆς εἰ-  
 κόνος τῆς Φιλίτου, τοῦ ἀποκτείναντος  
 τὸν τύραννον, τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐξείλον  
 5 τὸ ξίφος, νομίζοντες καθόλου τὴν στάσι  
 καθ' αὐτῶν εἶναι, ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμος φαίνηται  
 πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενος καὶ μνημο-  
 νεύων ἀεὶ τῶν εὐεργετῶν καὶ ζώντων  
 καὶ τετελευτηκότων· Ἀγαθῇ τύχη· δεδόχθαι  
 10 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· τοὺς ἐξεταστὰς το[ῦ]-  
 s ἐνεστηκότ[α]s ἐγδοῦναι τὸ ἔργον διαστολῆν  
 ποιησαμένους μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος καθότι  
 συντελεσθήσεται ὡς πρότερον εἶχεν· ὑπηρετε[ῖ]-  
 ν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸν κατὰ μῆνα ταμίαν. ὅπως δὲ καθαρὸς  
 15 [ῖ]οῦ ἔσται ὁ ἀνδριὰς καὶ στεφανωθήσεται ἀεὶ ταῖς  
 νομηνίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἑορταῖς ἐπιμελείσθαι  
 τοὺς ἀγορανόμους.

Line 5 : 'that the erection of the statue was a protest against themselves.' Line 10 : the ἐξετασταὶ are the chief financial officers of the state (Gäbler, *Erythrä*, p. 120). Line 11 : διαστολῆν, 'specification' ; cp. Polyb. xvi. 14 ; xxi. 6.

Line 12: ἀρχιτέκτων, 'the contractor.' Line 15: the statue was of bronze. Patina was not appreciated until a later date.

§ 2. *Additional resolution, moved by the same person, that the monthly treasures of the state-funds shall supply the commissioners of the market with money for the decoration of the statue:*

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· Ζωῖλος Χιάδου  
 εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῶι πρότερον ψηφίσματι προσε-  
 20 τάχθη τῶι ἀγορανόμῳ ἐπιμελείσθαι τῆς εἰκόνας  
 τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ Φιλίτου, ὅπως στεφανω-  
 θήσεται τε καὶ λαμπρὸς ἔσται, ὁ δὲ ἀγορανόμος  
 φησὶν εἰς ταῦτα πόρου δεῖσθαι· Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
 δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· τὸ μὲν καθ' ἔ-  
 25 τος εἰς ταῦτα διδόναι τὸ ἀνάλωμα τοῦς  
 [κα]τὰ μῆνα ταμίας, ἐπιμελείσθαι δὲ τὸν  
 [ἀγορα]νόμον, εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον οἱ  
 - - - - πωλοῦντες τὰς ὠνὰς προστι - - -  
 - - - - τῶν στεφ[άνων] - - -

In lines 24-25 καθ' ἔτος = 'for this year,' not 'annually.' The decline of Athenian influence in the Aegæan, and the consequent extension of Persian dominion, favoured the growth of oligarchies and tyrannies in the islands (see nos. 139, 157, 164). It is well known (see p. 312), that Philip impartially assisted any faction which promised to further Makedonian interests: and herein Alexander followed his example. The consequence was a perpetual series of revolutions throughout the cities of the Aegæan which supplied Aristotle with abundance of material for his political speculations, and explains at once the importance and the wisdom of Alexander's recall of the exiles in 334 B. C. (cp. nos. 157, 158).

## 160 [127].

Seuthes III king of the Odrysai communicates with  
Athens: B. C. 330.

Found near the theatre at Athens. Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. (1) 175 b, p. 412. Above the heading is a relief: a man approaches Athena, holding a phialé; behind him are two horses. Cp. Droysen, *Hellen.* i. 1. p. 392 n.; Hœck, *das Odrysenreich*, in *Hermes*, 26 (1891), p. 116.

Ῥηβούλας, Σεύθου υἱός, Κότυος ἀδελφός, ἀγγελ[ος].  
Θεο[ί].

Ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάνους ἀρχουτος.

Ἐπὶ τῆς Κ[εκ]ροπίδος δεκάτης πρυτ[α]-

5 νείας· Σκ[ιρ]οφοριῶνος δεκάτηι ἰστ[α]-  
αμένον, [ἔκτ]ει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτ[α]-  
ανείας[· τῶν] προέδρων ἐπεψή[φι]ζε [Δω]-  
ρόθε[ος Ἀλα]ιεύς·

ἔδοξεν [τῆι βουλ]ῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Νο[θ] - - - Διο[-

10 μειν[δ]εῖ[s εἶπε· π]ερὶ ᾧν ὁ δῆμος πρ[ότερον ἐψήφισται ἐπὶ  
τῆς - - ἰδο](s) πρυτανείας, [τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἀν λάχ-  
ωσιw ἐν τῶι δήμωι] προ[εδρεύειw κ.τ.λ.

The date is June 330 B. C., Alexander having defeated Dareios at Arbela in October 331. Meanwhile the effect of his absence was seen in various movements in the direction of Greek liberty. (Aischin. *in Otes.* 164 foll. describes the hopes of the anti-Makedonian party at that time.) The chief rising was under Agis in the Peloponnese in the spring of 330 B. C., which was promptly crushed by Antipatros in one decisive battle in Arkadia. Antipatros was however hampered in reaching Peloponnese by the critical state of N. Greece. In Thrace Memnon the Makedonian commander had revolted, and Zopyrion had rashly invaded Skythia and met with disaster (Niese, *Gesch. d. gr. u. mak. Staaten*, i. p. 171). Our inscription shows that the Odrysai shared in the movement, and were acting in concert with the rising in Greece proper. Seuthes sends his son Rhebulas to Athens, and perhaps to other Greek states. Although welcomed at Athens, as this inscription proves, he was not able to effect anything. The

Athenians took no part in the revolt, and Demosthenes himself, while warmly sympathizing with the movement, did not counsel more decided action (Diod. xvii. 62, 63; Droysen, *Hellen.* i. 1. 392; Q. Curtius, x. 1. 43, seems to refer to these events, but he is out in his chronology. See Schäfer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, iii. 200).

## 161 [128].

Administration of Lykurgos; building of the Stadion:  
B. C. 330-329.

Found on the Akropolis. Στοιχηδόν, but lines of varying length. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 176; cp. Velsen in *Archäol. Zeitung (Anzeiger)*, 1859, p. 70\*; Cobet, *Mnemos.* x (1861), p. 95; Egger, *Mém. d'hist. anc.* p. 60; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 151; Michel, *Recueil*, 109.

[Εὐδῆμ]ον Πλαται[έως.  
Ἐπὶ Ἀριστ]οφῶντος ἄρχοντ[ος  
ἐπὶ τῆς] Λεωντίδος ἐνάτη[ς πρ-  
υτανεία]ς, ἧι Ἀντίδωρος Ἀν[τ]ί[νου  
5 Παιαν]εὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἐ[ν-  
δεκάτ]ηι Θαρρηλιῶνος· ἐνάτη[ι  
καὶ δε]κάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας·  
[τῶν πρ]οέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἀν-  
[τιφάνης] Εὐνυμεύς· ἔδοξεν τ[ῶι  
10 δήμωι]· Λυκούργος Λυκόφρονος  
[Βουτά]δης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ  
[Εὐδῆμ]ος πρότερόν τε ἐπ[ηγγε]ί-  
[λατο τ]ῶι δήμωι ἐπιδώσειν εἰς  
[τὸν π]όλεμον εἴ τι [εἰ] δέ[οι]το [XXX]X  
15 [δ]ραχμὰς καὶ νῦν [ἐπ]ιδέδ[ω]κεν  
εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοῦ σταδ[ίου]  
καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Παναθη[ναϊ]-  
κοῦ χίλια ζεύγη καὶ ταῦτα  
πέπομφεν ἅπαντα π[ρὸς Π]αναθη-  
20 ναίων καθὰ ὑπέσ[χετο, δ]εδόχθ[αι]  
τῶι δήμωι ἐπαι[νέσαι] Εὐδῆμ[ον]  
Φι[λο]ούργου Πλατα[ιέα] καὶ σ[τε]-  
φανῶσαι αὐτὸν θ[αλ]λο[ῦ] στεφ[άνωι]  
εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν



- 25 δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἶν[αι]  
 αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς εὐεργέταις το[ῦ]  
 δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν κα[ὶ]  
 ἐκγόνους· καὶ εἶναι α]ὐτῶι  
 ἔγκτησι γῆς καὶ ο[ἰ]κ[ί]ας καὶ
- 30 στρατεύεσθαι αὐτὸν τὰς  
 στρατιὰς καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς  
 εἰσφέρειν μετὰ Ἀθηναίων.  
 ἀναγράψαι [δ]ὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα  
 τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ
- 35 στῆσαι ἐν ἀκρ[ο]πόλει· εἰ[s] δ[ὲ] τ[ῆ]ν  
 ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλῃ[s] δοῦ[ν]α[ι]  
 τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμ[ου - -]  
 δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κ[ατὰ ψή]-  
 φίσματα ἀναλισκομέ[νων τῶι]
- 40 δήμωι.

The financial administrations of Lykurgos began in mid-summer 338 B. C., and lasted for three *πεντετηρίδες*, i. e. twelve years, until midsummer 326. His public services are recounted by Plutarch, *Vit. X. Oratt.* vii., cp. no. 145 (ed. 1). Of his public works the chief were the repair of the great Theatre, and the building of the Panathenaic Stadion. In line 17, however, the 'Panathenaic Theatre' is not the great Theatre, but the theatre-like seating of the stadion (see Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Das griech. Theater*, pp. 31, 282). *ζεύγος* is a cart and pair, for the hauling of marble and the carting away of earth (cp. no. 90). *εἰς τὸν πόλεμον*, l. 13 foll., may surprise us: for what war were the Athenians likely to engage in? It was well known to Alexander however that Athens was only submissive to him under compulsion, and no. 160 significantly shows the feelings of the time. Two great works of Lykurgos himself were the rebuilding of the Athenian fortifications and the erection of an arsenal (*σκευοθήκη*). Line 29 foll.: his burthens, if he resided at Athens, were to be those of a citizen and not those of a *metoikos*. The exact date of the decree presents some difficulty. In lines 5-6 *ἐ[νδεκάτ]η* fills the gap exactly; but from another inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. 177) it is clear that the fourteenth day of Thargelion was the thirty-second of the ninth prytany;

hence the eleventh day of the same month should be the twenty-ninth day of the prytany, and not the nineteenth, as in lines 6-7 here. We assume therefore an error of δεκάτηι for εικοστῆι, suggested by the presence of ένδεκάτηι in the previous line.

## 162 [129].

Dedication at Olympia by one of Alexander's  
quartermasters: B. C. 330-320.

A statue-base excavated at Olympia: Dittenberger, *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1879, p. 139; cp. *Olympia*, v. p. 403, no. 276; *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 156; Michel, *Recueil*, 1088; Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv. pp. 48, 49. A fragment of a similar base is edited *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1879, p. 209.

B[α]σιλέως Ἀλε[ξάνδρου]  
ἡμεροδρόμας καὶ  
βηματιστῆς τῆς Ἀσίας  
Φιλωνίδης Ζώτου Κρής  
5 Χερσονάσιος ἀνέθηκε  
Δι᾽ Ὀλυμπίοι (sic).

This statue is mentioned by Pausanias, vi. 16. 4: ἔστηκεν . . . καὶ Φιλωνίδης Ζώτου, γένος μὲν ἐκ Χερρονήσου τῆς Κρητῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἡμεροδρόμος τοῦ Φιλίππου. We transcribe the remarks of Droysen, *Hellenismus*, i. 2, p. 383, where, speaking of the materials anciently available for the history of Alexander, he says: 'We may say much the same (as of the log-book of Nearchos and the Ἐφημερίδες βασιλικοί) of what is told us concerning Alexander's βηματισταί (steppers). There could not fail to be a full staff of quartermasters in Alexander's army, who had among other duties to arrange each day's march, to direct the route of the several columns, to mark out the place of encampment, &c. The memoranda drawn up by these officers in the execution of their duties yielded exact information concerning the distances and routes traversed, which was of the highest importance to the geographical studies of the following time. We hear of Βαίτων ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου βηματιστῆς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Σταθμοὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πορείας (Athen.

x. 442), or again, of "Diognetus et Baeton itinerum eius menses" (Plin. *N. H.* vi. 21. 61), or else Ἀμύντας ἐν τοῖς σταθμοῖς, from whose First Book is cited a note about Syria, and from the Third a note upon Nineveh. Archelaos also, ὁ χωρογράφος τῆς ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πατηθείσης γῆς (Diog. L. ii. § 17), may have served, though Diogenes does not say so, in Alexander's army. It is worth observing that Patrokles, governor of Babylon under Seleukos I, the explorer of the Caspian sea, asserted in his work on geography that Alexander's officers drew up a summary account (ἐπιδρομάδην) of the countries they traversed, which Alexander himself revised (ἀκριβῶσαι), and put into the most expert hands to be edited (Strabo, ii. 69). Another of Alexander's ἡμεροδρόμοι was Antimenes of Rhodes, according to Wilcken's certain emendation of ἡμιόδιος in Pseudo-Aristot. *Oeconom.* ii. 34 (*Hermes*, 1901, p. 194).

## 163.

## The Boiotian Allies of Alexander.

Not later than 329 B. C.

From Orchomenos. Now lost. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* iii. 452; Meister, *Bezenb. Beitr.* v. 205; Larfeld, *Syll. Inscr. Boeot.* 11; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 470; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 291; Dittenberger, *C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 3206.

[Τοὶ ἱππότη το]ὶ ἐν τὰν Ἀσία[ν] στ[ρατευσάμενοι βα-  
σιλείο]ς Ἀλεξάνδρω στραταγίουτος, . . . . .  
. οδωρίω Φιλαρχίουτος, Διὶ Σωτεῖρι ἀν[έθιαν]  
Πρό]ππει Θιογιτόνιος, Μνασίδικος Ἀθανοδ[ώριος,  
5 Δαμοσθένης Πουρρίνιος, Θιόδοτος Πο[υθιῆος], Δι]-  
ογιτων Διωνύσιος and eighteen other names.

The Greek allies of Alexander were sent home by the king at the end of 330 B. C. when the war against Persia, for which they had volunteered, was closed. This dedication to Zeus Soter on their safe return must therefore belong at latest to the next year. The Orchomenians belonged to the ἱππεῖς ζύμμαχοι, who are distinguished by Arrian from the Thessalian cavalry and Greek mercenaries. A similar dedication by Thespians is recorded in the *Anthology* (iv. 334):

Θεσπιαὶ εὐρύχοροι πέμψαν ποτὲ τοῦσδε σὺν ὄπλοις  
 τιμωροὺς προγόνων βάρβαρον εἰς Ἀσίην,  
 οἱ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου Περσῶν ἄστη καθελόντες  
 στήσαν Ἐριβρεμέτη δαιδάλεον τρίποδα.

## 164 [131].

Return of the Exiles at Mytilene by Alexander's  
 edict: B. C. 324.

A marble slab, broken into two pieces (A and B), at St. Therapia, Mytilene. Στοιχηδόν. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 2166, and add. pp. 1022-1023. Four excellent paper impressions were brought by Newton from Mytilene. A: Conze, *Reise auf Lesbos*, pl. viii. 2; Blass, *Hermes*, xiii (1878), 384. B: *C. I. G.* 2166, &c. A and B: Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.* 214; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 428; Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii. p. 555; Michel, *Recueil*, 356; Paton, *Inscr. Gr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* ii. 6. Cp. Lolling, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xi (1886), 272; Swoboda, *Gr. Bürgerr.* p. 126.

§ 1. *The exiles to return on condition of good behaviour. Measures for the preservation of harmony.*

..... οἱ β]ασ[ίλῆες προστίθε]σ[θον τῶι κατεληλύθου-  
 τι ὡς τέχναυ τεχνα]μέ[νω] τῶ ἐ[ν τᾶι] πόλι πρόσθε [ἔοντος· αἱ δὲ κέ τις  
 τῶν κατεληλυθόν]των μ[ῆ] ἐμμένῃ ἐν ταῖς διαλυσ[ι]σι ταύ[τ]αισι,  
 μηδέ ποτε . . . .]ξέσθω παρ τᾶς πόλιος κτήματος μήδενος, μ[ῆ]δὲ στ-  
 5 εἰχέτω ἐπὶ μ[ῆ]δεν τῶμ παρεχώρησαν αὐτῶι οἱ ἐν τᾶι πόλι πρόσθε  
 ἔοντες, ἀλλὰ σ]τείχοντον ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα οἱ παρχωρήσα[ν]-  
 ες αὐτῶι ἐκ τῶν] ἐν τᾶι πόλι πρόσθε ἔοντων, καὶ οἱ στρόταγοι εἰς  
 [αὐθις ἀποφέρου]ντον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τᾶι πόλι πρόσθε ἔοντα τὰ κτήματα  
 [ταῦτα ὡς τεχνα]μένω τῶ κατεληλύθοντος, καὶ οἱ βασίλη[ε]ς προστί-  
 10 [θεσθον τῶι ἐν τ]ᾶι πόλι πρόσθε ἔοντι ὡς τέχναυ τεχνα]μένω τῶ κα-  
 [τεληλύθοντος]· μηδ' αἱ κέ τις δίκαν γράφηται περὶ τ[ο]ύτων, μ[ῆ] εἰσά-  
 [γοντον οἱ περὶ]δρομοὶ καὶ οἱ δικασκοποι, μ[ῆ]δὲ ἄ[λλ]α ἄρχα μ[ῆ]δὲ ἱα.  
 [ἐπιμέλεσθαι δὲ] τοῖς στροτάγοις καὶ τοῖς β[ασίλη]ας καὶ τοῖς πε-  
 [ριδρόμοις καὶ το]ῖς δικασκόποις καὶ ταῖς [ἄλλ]αις ἄρχαις, αἱ κε  
 15 [φυλάσσηται πάν]τα ὡς ἐν τῶι ψ[αφίσματι τούτῶι, κ]αὶ κατάγρεντον  
 [τὸν ἀθέτεντά τι τῶν ἐν τῶι ψαφίσματι γεγρα]μμένων, ὡς κε μ[ῆ]δ-  
 [εν διάφορον εἶη τοῖς κατεληλυθόντεσσι π]ρὸς τοῖς ἐν τᾶι πόλι

[πρόσθε ξοντας, ἀλλὰ διάγοιεν οἱ διαλε]λύμενοι πάντες πρὸς ἀλ-  
 [λάλοις ἀνυπόπτως καὶ ἀνεπιβουλεύ]τως καὶ ἐμμένοιεν ἐν τῷ ἀ-  
 20 [πυκρίσει τῷ τῷ βασιλῆος καὶ ἐν τῷ] διαλύσει τῷ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ψα-  
 [φίσματι γραφεῖσαι. καὶ ἔλεσθ]αι τὸν δᾶμον ἄνδρας εἴκοσι, δέκα  
 [μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατελθόντων, δέκα] δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ πόλι πρόσθε ἐόντων.  
 [οὔτοι δὲ σπουδαίως φυλάσσ]οντον καὶ ἐπιμέλεστον, ὡς μῆδεν ἔσ-  
 [σεται διάφορον τοῖς κα]τελθόντεσσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πόλι πρόσ-  
 25 [θε ἐόντεσσι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα] καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητημένων κτημάτων  
 [ταῦτα δὲ πράσσοντον κ]αὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐν τῷ πόλι ξοντας καὶ πρὸς  
 [τὸν κατέλθοντα, ὡς μ]ὲν διαλυθήσονται· αἱ δὲ μῆ, ἔσσονται ὡς δίκ-  
 [ασται. οὔτω δὲ ἐν τα]ῖς διαλυσίεσσι, ταῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέκριννε,  
 [καὶ ἐν τῷ διαλλάγ]αι ἐμμενέοισι πάντες καὶ οἰκήσοισι τὰμ πό-  
 30 [λιω ἀτρέστως καὶ ὁμο]νύετες πρὸς ἀλλήλοις.

§ 2. *Further points to be referred to the Assembly. The Council may supplement this decree if necessary.*

Καὶ περὶ χρημάτων

[- - - -]θαι ταῖς διαλύσεις ὡς πλεῖστα, καὶ περὶ ὄρκω,  
 [τόν κε ἀπομόσσωσι οἱ] πόλιται, περὶ τούτων πάντων, ὅσσα κε ὁμο-  
 [λογήσωσι πρὸς ἀλλήλο]ις, οἱ ἀγρέθεντες ἄνδρες φέρουτον ἐπὶ τ-  
 [ὸν δᾶμον· ὁ δὲ δᾶμος ἀκο]ύσαις, αἱ κε ἄγεται συμφέρην, βολλενέτω  
 35 [κύρια ἔμμεναι πάντα τὰ] ὁμολογήμενα πρὸς ἀλλήλοις συμφέρον-  
 [τα τῷ τε δάμωι καὶ τοῖς κατ]ελθόντεσσι ἐπὶ Σμιθίνα προτάνιος,  
 [καθὸ κε ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ψαφί]σθη· αἱ δὲ κέ τι ἐνδεύῃ τῷ ψαφίσματος  
 [τούτω, τὰν κρίσιω ἔμμεναι ἐπ]ὶ τῷ βόλλαι.

§ 3. *Sacrifices to follow on the passing of the decree.*

κυρώθεντος δὲ τῷ ψαφίσι-  
 [ματος ὑπὸ τῷ δάμω, σύμπαντα] τὸν δᾶμον ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τῷ μῆνι  
 40 [θύσασθαι καὶ εὐξασθαι] τοῖς θεοῖσι, ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι καὶ εὐδαιμ-  
 [ονίαι καὶ τύχαι τῆς πόλιος] γένεσθαι τὰν διάλυσιν τοῖς κατελ-  
 [θόντεσσι καὶ τοῖς πρόσθε] ἐν τῷ πόλι ἐόντεσσι· τοῖ[s] δὲ ἱρῆας τ-  
 [ε καὶ ἱροποίοις πάντας καὶ] ταῖς ἱρείαις δεῖγην τοῖς ναύοις, καὶ  
 [τὰν πόλιω πανδάμι προσέλ]θην. τὰ δὲ ἱρα τὰ ὁ δᾶμος εὐξάτο ὅτε ἐξ-  
 45 [έπεμψε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις πρὸς] τὸν βασιλῆα, ἀπυδόμεναι τοῖς βασι-  
 [λῆος γενεθλοῖσι κατ ἐνιαύ]τον· παρέμμεναι δὲ τῷ θυσίαι καὶ [το-  
 [ις εἴκοσι ἄνδρας καὶ τοῖς ἀ]γγέλοις τοῖς πρὸς τὸν βασιλῆα πέ[μφ-

θευτας τοις ἀπὸ τῶν πρόσθε] ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐόντων καὶ τοις ἀπὸ τῶν  
κατελθόντων.

§ 4. *The decree to be inscribed.*

τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τοῦτο ἀναγράψαντας τοῖς - - -

The letters are beautifully inscribed *στοιχηδόν*. The restorations, which are taken from various sources, are merely suggestions as to the probable sequence of construction and meaning. The dialect is Aiolic, but some forms are peculiar: l. 15 *κατάγρευτον* = *καθαιρούντων*, as *ἀγρέθευτες* l. 33 = *αἰρεθέντες*; *δέειγν* l. 43 is *οἴγειν*. We may understand *διαλυσεσσι* l. 28 to refer to decisions which Alexander had given in special cases of difficulty on which he had been consulted by envoys.

When Alexander sent Nikanor to Olympia, in July 324 B. C., to proclaim the restoration of all exiles throughout Greece, he was not influenced by a merely selfish policy. His father Philip had with much impartiality aided either or any faction in the Greek states which would help him in his policy of aggression; and therefore the first to benefit by Alexander's edict would be the banished enemies of Makedonian interests. Large numbers of them had enlisted in the Persian service; but now the victories of Alexander left them without home or object, and they were finding their way back to become a source of disquiet throughout Greece. The edict was therefore a wise exercise of despotic power, in the interests of peace. It was obeyed by all except the Aitolians (who feared the vengeance of the exiles of Oiniadai), and the Athenians, who, having occupied Samos with *kleruchs* in 365-352 B. C., were loth to lose their possessions (see no. 114). How much excitement and disturbance was caused by the return of the exiles is shown by the crowd of envoys which hastened to Alexander at Babylon *ἐξ ἀπάσης σχεδὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης* (Diod. xvii. 113; Arrian, vii. 19). For the troubles at Eresos see no. 157. The present fragment shows us how matters gradually settled down at Mytilene: see Droysen, *Hellen.* i. 2. p. 291. The *βασίλῃες* are a college, the chief magistrates of the state, and were probably under the presidency of the *prytanis*.

## 165 [132].

## Honours to Gorgos and Minnion of Iasos: B. C. 323 (P).

Found at Chios, whither it must have been taken from Iasos as ballast. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 2672; C. Curtius, *Inscr. u. Stud. zur Gesch. von Samos (Lübeck Progr. 1877)*, p. 24; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 157; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 105; Michel, *Recueil*, no. 461.

[Ἐπει]δ[ῆ] Γόργος καὶ Μιννίων Θεοδότ-  
 [ου υἱ]οὶ κ[αλ]οὶ κάγαθοὶ γεγένηται  
 [πε]ρὶ τ[ὸ] κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως,  
 [κα]ὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἰδαί εὖ [π]-  
 5 εποιήκασιν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς μικρῆς  
 θαλάσσης διαλεχθέντες  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεῖ ἐκομίσαντο  
 [κ]αὶ ἀπέδοσαν τῶι δήμῳ· δεδόσθαι  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνοις ἀτέλειαν καὶ  
 10 προεδρίην εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον·  
 ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῇ  
 παραστάδι τῇ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχείου,

Concerning Gorgos and his brother see no. 135 (ed. 1), and cp. Athen. p. 538 b. Gorgos was in the service of Alexander as ὄπλοφύλαξ, and perhaps identical with the author of a work on mines (Strabo, p. 700). The 'little sea' is the *sinus Iasius*, a wild and gloomy inlet, which was probably valuable for its fishing: see Athen. p. 105 e, and Strabo, p. 658: Ἰασὸς ἐπὶ νήσῳ κείται προσκειμένη τῇ ἠπείρῳ· ἔχει δὲ λιμένα, καὶ τὸ πλείστον τοῦ βίου τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἐκ θαλάττης. In line 9, ἐγγόνοις is used, as often, for ἐκγόνοις; cp. no. 148 (ed. 1). We may doubt whether it is due to a phonological change, as Jannaris supposes (*Hist. Gr. Grammar*, § 59 a), and not rather a mere misuse of one word for another.

# ATHENIAN ARCHONS

FROM 500-321 B. C.

Ol.	B. C.	Name.	Authorities <sup>1</sup> .	
70. 1	500-499	Myros (Smyros)	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> v. 50.	
2	499-498	{	Philoch. fr. 83 (Sch. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 220); cp. Suid. <i>Λακρᾶτιδης</i> , Phot. <i>Λακρᾶτιδας</i> .	
3	498-497			}
4	497-496			
71. 1	496-495	Hipparchos	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> v. 77; vi. 1.	
2	495-494	Philippos	Anon. <i>vit. Soph.</i> (Westerm. p. 127).	
3	494-493	Pythokritos	Marm. Par. 47.	
4	493-492	Themistokles	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> vi. 34.	
72. 1	492-491	Diognetos	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> vi. 49.	
2	491-490	Hybrilides	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> vii. 1; Paus. vi. 9. 5.	
3	490-489	Phainippos ὁ δεύτερος	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 22; Marm. Par. 48. Φάνιππος Plut. <i>Arist.</i> 5.	
4	489-488	Aristeides	Marm. Par. 49; Plut. <i>Arist.</i> 5.	
73. 1	488-487	Anchises	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> viii. 1.	
2	487-486	Telesines	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 22.	
3	486-485	—		
4	485-484	Philokrates	Marm. Par. 50.	
74. 1	484-483	Leostratos	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> viii. 77.	
2	483-482	Nikodemos	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 22; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> viii. 83.	
3	482-481	—		
4	481-480	Hypsichides	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 22.	
75. 1	480-479	Kalliades	Hdt. viii. 51; Marm. Par. 51; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> ix. 1; Diod. xi. 1; Diog. La. ii. 37; <i>Vita Eurip.</i> (Westerm. pp. 133, 139).	
2	479-478	Xanthippos	Marm. Par. 52; Diod. xi. 27. Ξανθιππίδης Plut. <i>Arist.</i> 5.	
3	478-477	Timosthenes	Marm. Par. 53; Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 23; Diod. xi. 38.	

<sup>1</sup> The list of authorities does not pretend to be exhaustive. The Marmor Parium, for the earlier part, is quoted by the sections of the text in Müller, *F. H. G.* i. pp. 542 foll. The recently discovered portion (B. C. 336-335 onwards) is quoted from Krispi's text in *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxii (1897), p. 187, the numbers of the lines being given in *italics*. Where an archon is mentioned several times in the *C. I. A.*, only a selection of the references is given.



<i>Ol.</i>	<i>B. C.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Authorities.</i>
75. 4	477-476	Adeimantos	Marm. Par. 54; Simon. Fr. 147 Bgk.; Diod. xi. 41; Plut. <i>Them.</i> 5.
76. 1	476-475	Phaidon	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> ix. 18; Diod. xi. 48; Plut. <i>Thes.</i> 36; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34.
2	475-474	Dromokleides	Diod. xi. 50.
3	474-473	Akestorides	Diod. xi. 51.
4	473-472	Menon	Diod. xi. 52; Arg. Aischyl. <i>Pers.</i>
77. 1	472-471	Chares	Marm. Par. 55; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> ix. 37; Diod. xi. 53.
2	471-470	Praxiergus	Diod. xi. 54.
3	470-469	Demotion	Diod. xi. 60.
4	469-468	Apsephion	Marm. Par. 56; Apollod. <i>Chron.</i> fr. 82 (Diog. La. ii. 44). 'Αφεψίων Plut. <i>Cim.</i> 8. Φαίων Diod. xi. 63.
78. 1	468-467	Theagenides	Marm. Par. 57; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> ix. 56; Diod. xi. 65; Schol. Ar. <i>Lys.</i> 1144; Arg. Aischyl. <i>Sept.</i>
2	467-466	Lysistratos	Diod. xi. 66. Λυσ**μυλος Diog. La. ii. 11.
3	466-465	Lysanias	Diod. xi. 67.
4	465-464	Lysitheos	Diod. xi. 69.
79. 1	464-463	Archedemides	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> ix. 61; Diod. xi. 70. 'Αρχιμήδης Paus. iv. 24. 5.
2	463-462	Tlepolemos	Diod. xi. 71.
3	462-461	Konon	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 25; Diod. xi. 74.
4	461-460	Euthippos	Marm. Par. 58; Diod. xi. 75 ( <i>v. l.</i> <i>Εύιππος</i> ).
80. 1	460-459	Phrasikles	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> x. 1; [Plut.] <i>X</i> <i>Or.</i> , <i>Lys.</i> 835 C. Φρασικλείδης Diod. xi. 77.
2	459-458	Philokles	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 971 (p. 219); Diod. xi. 78; [Plut.] <i>X Or.</i> , <i>Lys.</i> 835 C; Arg. Aischyl. <i>Ag.</i>
3	458-457	Habron	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 971. 'Αβίων Thom. Mag. <i>Vit. Pind.</i> Βίων Diod. xi. 79.
4	457-456	Mnesitheides	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 26; Diod. xi. 81. <i>Μνησιθεος</i> Schol. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 10.
81. 1	456-455	Kallias	Marm. Par. 59; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> x. 26; Diod. xi. 84; Schol. Aischin. ii. 78; Schol. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 10; <i>Vita</i> <i>Eurip.</i> (Westerm. p. 134).
2	455-454	Sosistratos	Diod. xi. 85.
3	454-453	Ariston	Δελτ. ἀρχ. 1891, pp. 105 foll.; Diod. xi. 86.
4	453-452	Lysikrates	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 26; Diod. xi. 88; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34.
82. 1	452-451	Chairephanes	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> x. 53.
2	451-450	Antidotos	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 26; Diod. xi. 91.
3	450-449	Euthynos	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (1). 22 a (p. 7). Εἰθύδημος Diod. xii. 3.
4	449-448	Pedieus	Diod. xii. 4.
83. 1	448-447	Philiskos	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> x. 61; xi. 1; Diod. xii. 5.
2	447-446	Timarchides	Diod. xii. 6.

<i>Ol.</i>	<i>B. C.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Authorities.</i>
83.	3 446-445	Kallimachos	Diod. xii. 7.
	4 445-444	Lysimachides	Philoch. fr. 90 (Schol. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> 718); Diod. xii. 22.
84.	1 444-443	Praxiteles	Diod. xii. 23; [Plut.] <i>X Or.</i> , <i>Lys</i> 835 D.
	2 443-442	Lysanias	Diod. xii. 24.
	3 442-441	Diphilos	Marm. Par. 60; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> xi. 62; Diod. xii. 26.
	4 441-440	Timokles	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Diod. xii. 27.
85.	1 440-439	Morychides	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Schol. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 67; Suid. <i>Εὐθυμένης. Μυριχίδης</i> Diod. xii. 29.
	2 439-438	Glaukinos	Schol. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 67. <i>Γλαυκίδης</i> Diod. xii. 30.
	3 438-437	Theodoros	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Philoch. fr. 97 (Schol. Ar. <i>Pac.</i> 605, <i>v.l.</i> <i>Πυθό- δωρος</i> ); Schol. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 67; Diod. xii. 31.
	4 437-436	Euthymenes	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 314; Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 67 cum Schol.; Philoch. fr. 98 ( <i>Harpokr. προπύλαια</i> ); Suidas <i>Εὐθυμένης</i> ; Diod. xii. 32; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34.
86.	1 436-435	Lysimachos <i>Μυρρινούσιος</i>	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Dion. Hal. <i>Isocr.</i> 1; Diog. La. iii. 3; [Plut.] <i>X Or.</i> , <i>Isocr.</i> 836 F. <i>Ναυσίμαχος</i> Diod. xii. 33.
	2 435-434	Antiochides	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Diod. xii. 34.
	3 434-433	Krates	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 283, 301. <i>Χάρης</i> Diod. xii. 35.
	4 433-432	Apseudes	Nos. 51, 52; <i>C. I. A.</i> i. 283; Philoch. fr. 99 (Schol. Ar. <i>Av.</i> 997); Diod. xii. 36; Ptolem. <i>Almag.</i> iii. 2.
87.	1 432-431	Pythodoros	Thuk. ii. 2; 'Αθ. Πολ. 27; Philoch. fr. 99 (Schol. Ar. <i>Av.</i> 997); Philoch. ap. Schol. Ar. <i>Pac.</i> 990; Diod. xii. 37; Arg. Eurip. <i>Med.</i> <i>Σκυθόδωρος</i> Philoch. fr. 97 (Schol. Ar. <i>Pac.</i> 605).
	2 431-430	Euthydemos	Diod. xii. 38; Athen. v. 217 A.
	3 430-429	Apollodoros	Diod. xii. 43; Athen. v. 217 A; Anon. iii. <i>περὶ κομ.</i> 43 (Dübner).
	4 429-428	Epameinon	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 195; Athen. v. 217 E. 'Επα- μινώνδας Diod. xii. 46. 'Αμείνων Arg. Eur. <i>Hipp.</i> 'Αμεινίας Diog. La. iii. 3.
88.	1 428-427	Diotimos	Diod. xii. 49; Anon. iii. <i>περὶ κομ.</i> 50 (Dübner).
	2 427-426	Eukles <i>Μόλωνος</i>	Arist. <i>Meteor.</i> i. 6. 8; Andron. fr. 7 (Suid. et Phot. <i>Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος</i> ); Demetr. ap. Sch. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> 240. <i>Εὐκλείδης</i> Diod. xii. 53; Schol. Ar. <i>Eq.</i> 237.
	3 426-425	Euthynos	No. 62; Philoch. fr. 106 (Schol. Luc. <i>Tim.</i> 30). <i>Εὐθύδημος</i> Diod. xii. 58; Athen. v. 218 B; Arg. i. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> <i>Vita Thuc.</i> (Westerm. p. 202).
	4 425-424	Stratokles	Nos. 62, 64; Strab. viii. 359; Diod. xii. 60; Arg. ii. Ar. <i>Eq.</i> ; Schol. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 584.

<i>Ol.</i>	<i>B. C.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Authorities.</i>
89. 1	424-423	Isarchos	No. 62; <i>C. I. A.</i> iv (1). 179 a (p. 32); Philoch. fr. 90 (Sch. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> 718); fr. 107 (Sch. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> 210); ap. Sch. Ar. <i>Pac.</i> 990; Androt. fr. 46 (Sch. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 549); Diod. xii. 65; Athen. v. 218 D; Arg. v. Ar. <i>Nub.</i>
2	423-422	Ameinias	Androt. fr. 46 (Sch. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 549); Diod. xii. 72; Athen. v. 218 D; Schol. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 31; Arg. i. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> ; v. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> ; Schol. Luc. <i>Tim.</i> 30; Anon. <i>Vit. Plat.</i> (Westerm. p. 390).
3	422-421	Alkaios	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 971; Thuk. v. 19, 25; Philoch. fr. 108 (Schol. Ar. <i>Pac.</i> 466; 'Αλκιβιάδης, 'Αλκμαίων); Androt. fr. 46 (Schol. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 549); Diod. xii. 73; Athen. v. 215 D, 218 B, D, E; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34; Arg. i. Ar. <i>Pac.</i>
4	421-420	Aristion	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 45, 46, 260, 318; iv (1). 225 k (p. 174); Athen. v. 216 D, F, 218 D. 'Αρίστων Diod. vii. 75; Schol. Aischin. ii. 186.
90. 1	420-419	Astyphilos	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 318; iv (1). 225 k (p. 174); Marm. Par. 61; Diod. xii. 77; Athen. v. 218 D.
2	419-418	Archias	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 972; Diod. xii. 78.
3	418-417	Antiphon	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 318; ii. 972; iv (1). 53 a (p. 66); Diod. xii. 80.
4	417-416	Euphemos	Diod. xii. 81; Athen. v. 216 F, 217 A, B.
91. 1	416-415	Arimnestos	Isaios vi. 14; Arg. ii. Ar. <i>Av.</i> ; Hesych. 'Ερμοκοπίδαι. 'Αριστόμνηστος Diod. xii. 82.
2	415-414	Charias	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 1250 add. Χαβρίας Philoch. fr. 111 (Schol. Ar. <i>Av.</i> 766); Diod. xiii. 2; Arg. i, ii. Ar. <i>Av.</i> ; Schol. Ar. <i>Av.</i> 997; <i>Plut.</i> 179.
3	414-413	Teisandros	No. 88. Τίσανδρος Pherek. fr. 20 (Marcell. <i>vit. Thuc.</i> § 2). Πείσανδρος, Πίσανδρος Diod. xiii. 7.
4	413-412	Kleokritos	Diod. xiii. 9; [ <i>Plut.</i> ] <i>X Or., Lys.</i> 835 E; Arg. i. Ar. <i>Lys.</i>
92. 1	412-411	Kallias Σκαμβωνίδης	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 2544 b; Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 32; Philoch. fr. 116 (Schol. Ar. <i>Lys.</i> 173); Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 1; Diod. xiii. 34; [ <i>Plut.</i> ] <i>X Or., Lys.</i> 835 E
2	411-410	Mnasilochos (δῆμῳνον) Theopompos	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 33; ep. <i>C. I. A.</i> iv (1). 179 (p. 162). Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 33; <i>Lys.</i> xxi. 1; Philoch. fr. 117 (Schol. Eur. <i>Or.</i> 371); Diod. xiii. 38; [ <i>Plut.</i> ] <i>X Or., Antiph.</i> 833 D.
3	410-409	Glaukippos	Nos. 74, 75, 76; <i>C. I. A.</i> i. 58, 188; ii. 128; <i>Lys.</i> xxi. 1; Philoch. fr. 119 (Schol. Ar. <i>Plut.</i> 972); Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 21; Diod. xii. 43; Arg. <i>Soph. Phil.</i>

<i>Ol.</i>	<i>B.C.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Authorities.</i>
92. 4	409-408	Diokles	No. 78; <i>C. I. A.</i> i. 322; <i>Lys.</i> xxi. 2; <i>Philoch. fr.</i> 117 ( <i>Schol. Eur. Or.</i> 371); <i>Diod.</i> xiii. 54; [ <i>Plut.</i> ] <i>X Or., Decr.</i> 851 E; <i>Schol. Ar. Plut.</i> 179.
93. 1	408-407	Euktemon	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 62, 338; iv (1). 62 b (p. 166); <i>Marm. Par.</i> 62; <i>Xen. Hellen.</i> i. 2. 1; <i>Diod.</i> xiii. 68.
2	407-406	Antigenes	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 63; ii. 649; <i>Marm. Par.</i> 63; <i>Xen. Hellen.</i> i. 3. 1; <i>Philoch. fr.</i> 120 ( <i>Schol. Ar. Ran.</i> 720); <i>Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.</i> vii. 1; <i>Diod.</i> xiii. 76; <i>Arg. i. Ar. Ran.</i> ; <i>Schol. Ar. Ran.</i> 33, 694, 1422.
3	406-405	Kallias 'Ιππονίκου 'Αγγελῆθεν	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 140; <i>Marm. Par.</i> 64; <i>Xen. Hellen.</i> i. 6. 1; <i>Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ.</i> 34; <i>fr.</i> 272 ( <i>Schol. Ar. Ran.</i> 404); <i>Philoch. fr.</i> 116 ( <i>Schol. Ar. Lys.</i> 173); <i>Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.</i> vii. 1; <i>Diod.</i> xiii. 80; <i>Athen.</i> v. 218 A; <i>Arg. i. Ar. Ran.</i> ; <i>Schol. Ar. Ran.</i> 694, 725.
4	405-404	Alexias	No. 81; <i>Xen. Hellen.</i> ii. 1. 10; <i>Lys.</i> xxi. 3; <i>Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ.</i> 34; <i>Diod.</i> xiii. 104.
94. 1	404-403	Pythodoros	<i>Xen. Hellen.</i> ii. 3. 1; <i>Lys.</i> vii. 9; <i>Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ.</i> 41. 'Αναρχία <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 3.
2	403-402	Eukleides	No. 81; <i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 642 b; <i>Andok. de Myst.</i> 89 f.; <i>Lys.</i> xxi. 4; <i>Isai.</i> vi. 47; viii. 43; <i>Dem.</i> xxiv. 42 cum <i>Schol.</i> ( <i>Dind. vol. ix.</i> p. 749), 133 f.; <i>Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ.</i> 39; <i>Andron fr.</i> 7 ( <i>Phot. and Suid. Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος</i> ); <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 12; <i>Plut. Arist.</i> i, &c., &c.
3	402-401	Mikon	<i>Marm. Par.</i> 65; <i>Arg.</i> i, ii. <i>Soph. Oed. Col. Μικίων</i> <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 17.
4	401-400	Xenainetos	<i>Lys.</i> xvii. 3; <i>Diog. La.</i> ii. 55. 'Εξάιμετος <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 19.
95. 1	400-399	Laches	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 645; iv (2). 5 b; <i>Marm. Par.</i> 66; <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 35; <i>Aristeid.</i> xlvi. pp. 474, 475; <i>Arg. Isokr.</i> xi.
2	399-398	Aristokrates	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 1 c; iv (2). 645 b, 653; <i>Marm. Par.</i> 67; <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 38.
3	398-397	Euthykles	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 653. 'Ιθυκλῆς <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 44.
4	397-396	Suniades	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 652; <i>Lys.</i> vii. 11. Λυσιάδης <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 47.
96. 1	396-395	Phormion	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 655, 841 b; iv (2). 767 c (p. 300); <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 54.
2	395-394	Diophantos	No. 90; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 82; <i>Paus.</i> viii. 45. 4.
3	394-393	Eubulides 'Ελευσίνιος	Nos. 86, 88, 90, 91; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 667, 830; iv. 25 (p. 11); <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 85; <i>Aristeid.</i> xlvi. p. 475. Εὔβουλος <i>Lys.</i> xix. 28.
4	393-392	Demostratos	<i>Diod.</i> xiv. 90.
97. 1	392-391	Philokles	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 830 d; <i>Diod.</i> xiv. 94. Διοκλῆς <i>Schol. Ar. Plut.</i> 179.

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97. 2	391-390	Nikoteles	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Diod. xiv. 97.
3	390-389	Demostratos ἐκ Κεραμείων	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 813 b; Diod. xiv. 99.
4	389-388	Antipatros	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 813 b; Diod. xiv. 103; Arg. Ar. <i>Plut.</i> iv; Schol. Ar. <i>Plut.</i> 173.
98. 1	388-387	Pyrgion	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 13; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> i. 74. Πυρρίων Diod. xiv. 107.
2	387-386	Theodotos	No. 96; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 14, 14 b, 971; Diod. xiv. 110.
3	386-385	Mystichides	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 554 b (p. 421); iv (2). 14 c; Diod. xv. 2.
4	385-384	Dexitheos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 667; iv (2). 14 d; Diod. xv. 8; [Plut.] <i>X Or., Demosth.</i> 845 D.
99. 1	384-383	Dieitrephes	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 667, 1234. Διοτρέφης Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5; Diod. xv. 14.
2	383-382	Phanostratos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 994; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Diod. xv. 15.
3	382-381	Euandros	Dem. xxiv. 138; Diod. xv. 20 (v. l. Μένανδρος).
4	381-380	Demophilos	Diod. xv. 22.
100. 1	380-379	Pytheas	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 545; Marm. Par. 69; Diod. xv. 23.
2	379-378	Nikon	Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 12; Diod. xv. 24.
3	378-377	Nausinikos	Nos. 101, 102; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 17 b, 678, 803, 867; Dem. xxii. 44 cum Schol. (Dind. vol. ix. p. 695); [Dem.] lix. 65; Philoch. fr. 126 (Harpokr., Suid., Etym. Magn.; Συμμορία, v. l. Ναυσικός); Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 12; Diod. xv. 25.
4	377-376	Kalleas (Kallias) Ἀγγελῆθεν	Καλλέας: No. 104; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 74, 671; Marm. Par. 70. Καλλίας: <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 21, 22; Diod. xv. 28.
101. 1	376-375	Charisandros	No. 104; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 555; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098. Χαρίανδρος Diod. xv. 36.
2	375-374	Hippodamas	Nos. 104, 105; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 803, 1235; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098. Ἰππόδαμος Diod. xv. 38.
3	374-373	Sokratides	No. 104; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 803; [Dem.] xlix. 6, 44; lix. 33; Diod. xv. 41; Suid. Φιλόχορος.
4	373-372	Asteios	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 803; iv (2). 50 b; <i>Bull. Corr. Hellén.</i> xii. 177; Marm. Par. 71; [Dem.] xlix. 22, 60, 62; lix. 35, 36; Aristot. <i>Meteor.</i> i. 6. 10; Paus. vii. 25. 4; Diod. xv. 48.
102. 1	372-371	Alkisthenes	[Dem.] xlix. 30, 59, 60, 62; Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 12; Diod. xv. 50.
2	371-370	Phrasikleides	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 803; Marm. Par. 72; [Dem.] lix. 37; Diod. xv. 51; Paus. vi. 5. 3; viii. 27. 8.
3	370-369	Dysniketos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 698 ([Δυνίκητος]); [Dem.] xlvi. 13; Diod. xv. 57 a (v. l. Δυσκίνητος, cp. Paus. iv. 27. 9).

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102. 4	369-368	Lysistratos	Nos. 108, 109; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 51, 799, 803; Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge</i> <sup>2</sup> , 88 (Michel, <i>Recueil</i> , 91); Diod. xv. 61; [Plut.] <i>X Or.</i> , <i>Isocr.</i> , 839 D.
103. 1	368-367	Nausigenes	No. 113; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 52 b, 571, 677, 684, 803; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Marm. Par. 74; Diod. xv. 71.
2	367-366	Polyzelos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 677, 682, 803; Panath. amphora, <i>B. M. Catal. Vases</i> , ii. B. 603; Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5; Dem. xxx. 15; Diod. xv. 75.
3	366-365	Kephisodoros	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 53, 682 b; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Marm. Par. 75; Dem. xxx. 17; Dion. Hal. <i>Isae.</i> 5; Diod. xv. 76. <i>Κηφισόδωρος</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Isae.</i> 7.
4	365-364	Chion	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 682, 1236; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Dem. xxx. 17; Diod. xv. 77.
104. 1	364-363	Timokrates	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 1237; <i>Bull. Corr. Hellén.</i> x. 461 (Michel, <i>Recueil</i> , 815); Dem. xxx. 15, 17; Diod. xv. 78; [Plut.] <i>X Or.</i> , <i>Demosth.</i> 844 C, 845 E; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34.
2	363-362	Charikleides	Nos. 116, 117, 118; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 682 c, 698, 803; Dem. xxi. 178; Diod. xv. 82; [Plut.] <i>X Or.</i> , <i>Demosth.</i> 845 E.
3	362-361	Molon	No. 119; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 56, 57, 61; Dem. l. 4; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 13; Diod. xv. 90.
4	361-360	Nikophemos	No. 123; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 698, 793, 799, 1523; [Dem.] xlv. 13; Aischin. i. 109; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 4, 9, 13; Diod. xv. 95; Schol. Aischin. i. 109 confounds the archons of 483-482 and 361-360.
105. 1	360-359	Kallimedes	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 698, 793, 803, 868; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 2; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34 ( <i>v. l. Καλαμίωνος, Καλαμίνος</i> ). <i>Καλλιδημίδης</i> Diog. La. ii. 56.
2	359-358	Eucharistos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 793, 803; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 4.
3	358-357	Kephisodotos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 698, 793; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 8; Diod. xvi. 6.
4	357-356	Agathokles	Nos. 128, 130; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Marm. Par. 76; Dem. xlvii. 4; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Lys.</i> 12; Diod. xvi. 9; Paus. x. 2. 2.
106. 1	356-355	Elpines	Nos. 131, 132; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 66 c, 682 c, 803; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 15. <i>Ἐλπινίκης</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 12.
2	355-354	Kallistratos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 70, 795; Marm. Par. 77; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9, 13; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 4; Diod. xvi. 23.
3	354-353	Diotimos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 71, 795, 972; iv (2). 1054 d; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9, 13; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 4; Diod. xvi. 28.

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106. 4	353-352	Thudemos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 72, 795; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; <i>Dion. Hal. Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 4 (v. l. Εὔδημος). Εὔδημος <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9; <i>Diod. xvi.</i> 32.
107. 1	352-351	Aristodemos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 758, 1238; iv. (2). 104 a; <i>Panath. amphora, Class. Rev.</i> xiv. p. 474; <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9, 13; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 4; <i>Diod. xvi.</i> 37.
2	351-350	Theëllos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 758, 1174; <i>Dion. Hal. Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 4. Θεῆλλος <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 11. Θεσσαλός <i>Pap. Oxyrh. i.</i> 12 (i.) 11; <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9; <i>Diod. xvi.</i> 40.
3	350-349	Apollodoros	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 698, 758; iv (2). 700 b; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9, 11; <i>Diod. xvi.</i> 46.
4	349-348	Kallimachos Περγασῆθεν	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 108, 698, 754; iv (2). 107 b; <i>Philoch. fr.</i> 132 ( <i>Dion. Hal. Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 9, 10); <i>Pap. Oxyrh. i.</i> 12 (i.) 12; <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9; <i>Diod. xvi.</i> 52; [ <i>Plut.</i> ] <i>X Or. Demosth.</i> 845 D; <i>Athen. v.</i> 217 B.
108. 1	348-347	Theophilos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 700, 754, 755, 803, 871; <i>Dem.</i> xxxvii. 6; <i>Apollod. Chron. fr.</i> 92 ( <i>Diog. La. v.</i> 9); <i>Pap. Oxyrh. i.</i> 12 (i.) 19; <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 11; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5, 10; <i>Diod. xvi.</i> 53; <i>Paus. x.</i> 3. 1; <i>Athen. v.</i> 217 B. Θεόφιλος <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9. Θεόμυθος, <i>ibid.</i> 12.
2	347-346	Themistokles	<i>Nos.</i> 114, 139, 140; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 270, 700, 754; <i>Panath. amphora, Annali dell' Inst.</i> 1877, p. 310; <i>Aischin.</i> iii. 62; <i>Pap. Oxyrh. i.</i> 12 (i.) 19; <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9, 11; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10, 11; <i>Diod. xvi.</i> 56.
3	346-345	Archias	<i>No.</i> 114; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 701, 714, 754, 756, 1055, 1229; iv (2). 110 c; <i>Androt. and Philoch. fr.</i> 133 ( <i>Harpokr. Διαψήφισις</i> ); <i>Pap. Oxyrh. i.</i> 12 (i.) 20; <i>Dion. Hal. Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10; <i>Din.</i> 9 (v. l. Ἀρχίδας), 11; <i>Diod. xvi.</i> 59.
4	345-344	Eubulos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 701, 754, 756, 803, 1055; <i>Apollod. Chron. fr.</i> 92 ( <i>Diog. La. v.</i> 9); <i>Pap. Oxyrh. i.</i> 12 (i.) 20; <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 11, 13; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5, 10; <i>Diod. xvi.</i> 66. Εὐβούλος <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9.
109. 1	344-343	Lykiskos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 113, 803, 1180, 1240, 1241, 1341; [ <i>Dem.</i> ] lviii. 28; <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9, 11; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10; <i>Diod. xvi.</i> 69.
2	343-342	Pythodotos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 114, 702, 721, 758, 803; <i>Dem.</i> xlvi. 26; <i>Philoch. fr.</i> 134

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109. 3	342-341	Sosigenes	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 803, 1326; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1184; Apollod. <i>Chron.</i> fr. 95 (Diog. La. x. 13); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 4; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10; Diod. xvi. 72; [Plut.] <i>X Or. Isocr.</i> 839 D.
4	341-340	Nikomachos	No. 145; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 706, 808, 809, 872, 973; Aristot. <i>Meteor.</i> i. 7, 10; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 5; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9, 11, 13; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10, 11; Diod. xvi. 74.
110. I	340-339	Theophrastos Ἐλαίεύς	No. 146; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 120, 766, 973; Aischin. iii. 115; Philoch. fr. 135 (Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 11); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 21; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10; Diod. xvi. 77.
2	339-338	Lysimachides	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 708, 715, 766, 1214; Philoch. fr. 135 (Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 11); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 22; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 82; Diog. La. iv. 14.
3	338-337	Chairondas	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 122, 741 (add.), 757, 758, 766; Aischin. iii. 27; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 22; Plut. <i>Demosth.</i> 24; [Plut.] <i>X Or. Isocr.</i> 837 E; <i>Lyc.</i> 842 F; Anon. <i>Vit. Isocr.</i> (Westerm. p. 258. <i>Χαίρωνδας</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Isocr.</i> i. <i>Χαίρωνδας</i> Diod. xvi. 84.
4	337-336	Phrynichos	Nos. 152, 153; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 125, 126, 757, 758, 804, 1182; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 22; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 89.
111. I	336-335	Pythodelos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 758, 804, 808; Panath. amphorae, B. M. <i>Catal. Vases</i> , ii. B 607, 608; Marm. Par. 2; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iii.) 19. Πυθόδημος Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 4, 9; Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> i. 1. 1. Πυθόδαρος Diod. xvi. 91.
2	335-334	Euainetos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 804, 807, 808, 1242; Marm. Par. 3; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iii.) 19; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5; Diod. xvii. 2.
3	334-333	Ktesikles	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 758; iv. (2). 563 b; Marm. Par. 5; <i>Lys.</i> ix. 6; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iii.) 20; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvii. 17; [Plut.] <i>X Or., Lyc.</i> 844 A.
4	333-332	Nikokrates	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 168, 169, 227, 741, 1156; iv. (2). 169 b, 1571 b; <i>C. Inscr. Gr.</i>



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112. I	332-331	Niketes	<i>Sept.</i> i. 3499; Panath. amphora, B. M. <i>Catal. Vases</i> , ii. B 609; Marm. Par. 5; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iii.) 20; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvii. 29. Νικόστρατος Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> ii. 11. 10. <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 173, 1157, 1216; iv. (2). 767 b; 1571 b; <i>C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.</i> i. 4252, 4253; Panath. amphora, B. M. <i>Catal. Vases</i> , ii. B 610; Marm. Par. 6; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iv.) 28; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9. Νικήρατος Diod. xvii. 40. Ἀνίκηρος Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> ii. 24. 6. No. 160; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 807, 971; iv. (2). 834 b, 1571 b; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iv.) 28; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvii. 49; Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> iii. 7. 1; 15. 7.
2	331-330	Aristophanes	No. 160; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 807, 971; iv. (2). 834 b, 1571 b; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iv.) 28; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvii. 49; Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> iii. 7. 1; 15. 7.
3	330-329	Aristophon	No. 161; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 177, 713, 807, 941; iv. (2). 179 b, 834 b; Marm. Par. 7; Theophr. <i>Char.</i> 7; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iv.), 29; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 12; Diod. xvii. 62; Plut. <i>Demosth.</i> 24; Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> iii. 22. 2.
4	329-328	Kephisophon	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 178, 807; iv. (2). 573 b (p. 298), 834 b; <i>C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.</i> i. 4254; Aristot. Ἀθ. Πολ. 54; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iv.) 29; Diod. xvii. 74. Κησιφῶν Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9.
113. I	328-327	Euthykritos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 809, 810, 1244; iv. (2). 179 b, 834 b; Panath. amphora, B. M. <i>Catal. Vases</i> , ii. B 611; Marm. Par. 8; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 17; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvii. 82.
2	327-326	Hegêmon	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 748, 808, 811; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 18; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9. Ἡγεμῶν Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> v. 19. 3.
3	326-325	Chremes	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 579, 808, 809, 811; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 18; Diod. xvii. 87. Κρέμης Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9.
4	325-324	Antikles	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 179, 580, 808, 809, 811; iv. (2). 179 b; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 12; Diod. xvii. 110.
114. I	324-323	Hegesias	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 607, 609, 811, 1330; Panath. amphorae, <i>Annali dell' Inst.</i> 1887, p. 320 and <i>Bull. Corr. Hellén.</i> vi. p. 168; Marm. Par. 9; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 27; Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> vii. 28, 1. Ἀγήςιας Diod. xvii. 113.
2	323-322	Kephisodoros	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 181, 183, 270, 811, 1245; iv. (2). 231 b; Panath. amphora, <i>Annali dell' Inst.</i> 1877, p. 322; Marm. Par. 10; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xviii. 2; Arrian, <i>Ind.</i> 21. 1. Κησισοφῶν Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 27.

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114. 3	322-321	Philokles	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 186, 188, 189, 719, 720, 722; <i>Marm. Par.</i> 11; <i>Apollod. Chron.</i> fr. 92 ( <i>Diog. La.</i> v. 9); <i>Pap. Oxyrh.</i> i. 12 (v.) 28; <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9; <i>Diod.</i> xviii. 26. <i>Διοκλῆς</i> <i>Anon. περι κομωδίας</i> iii. 81 (Dübner).
4	321-320	Archippos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 722, 1059; iv. (2). 574 e; <i>Panath. amphora, Annali dell' Inst.</i> 1877, p. 323; <i>Marm. Par.</i> 13; <i>Pap. Oxyrh.</i> i. 12 (v.) 28; <i>Dion. Hal. Din.</i> 9.

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OXFORD  
PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS  
BY HORACE HART, M.A.  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY



